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NAPOLEON'S LAST VOYAGES

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY J. HOLLAND ROSE LITT.D.

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NAPOLEON'S LAST VOYAGES

TWO POSITIONS OF NAPOLEON.
From a sketch by D. T. taken on board the "Northumberland."

UNIV. OF MICH.

Frontispiece.

NAPOLEON'S LAST VOYAGES

BEING THE DIARIES OF ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS USSHER, R.N., K.C.B. (ON BOARD THE "UNDAUNTED"), AND JOHN R. GLOVER, SECRETARY TO REAR ADMIRAL COCKBURN (ON BOARD THE "NORTHUMBERLAND")

ILLUSTRATED

SECOND EDITION

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY J. HOLLAND ROSE, LITT.D.
AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF NAPOLEON I.," "NAPOLEONIC STUDIES," ETC.

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN
ADELPHI TERRACE · MCMVI

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NOTES ON THE PRINTS LENT BY MR. BROADLEY.

1. *Napoleon and his Fellow Exiles.* (*Facing p.* 9.)

A copy of this rare print was purchased as "unique" at the Edwin Truman Sale (May, 1906). It bore the names of the five personages portrayed in it, viz., Napoleon, in the centre, with Les Cases and Montholon to the right, and Bertrand and Gourgand on the left. Mr. Broadley possesses two impressions of the engraving, one in black and the other in a greenish tint. The latter is inscribed: "W. F., drawn on the passage to St. Helena." The head of Napoleon is almost exactly similar to that of the coloured portrait which forms the frontispiece of Barnes's "Tour through the Island of St. Helena" (London, 1817), stated to be the handiwork of "a highly esteemed gentleman who was Passenger from England to St. Helena with him (Napoleon) on the *Northumberland.*" Amongst Barnes's subscribers the name of "W. Fowler, Merchant of St. Helena," figures as taking ten copies. It seems probable that he, and not Cruickshank, was the author of the "five heads" print, although the latter very likely etched it.

2. *A Back View of Napoleon contrasted with Louis XVIII.* (*Facing p.* 103.)

There are at least ten varieties of back views of Napoleon associated with the period of his exile. The view now given is rare.

3. *French Caricature of the Transfer.* (*Facing p.* 115.)

This is exceedingly rare.

4. *Contemporary Caricature.* (*Facing p.* 117.)

This exceedingly scaree French caricature ridicules the practical realisation in 1815 of Napoleon's projected (1797–1805) descent on the shores of England, under the ægis of Wellington.

5. "*Before and after Waterloo.*" (*Facing p.* 147.)

George Cruickshank's caricature, published, like No. 6, in August, 1815, contrasts the position of Buonaparte on the 17th June to the 17th July of that year. It is somewhat rare.

6. *Napoleon's Abode at St. Helena.* (*Facing p.* 223.)

This view of the Briars, where Napoleon spent the first weeks of his sojourn at St. Helena, is very rarely met with. Like No. 1, it is engraved by Hassell. The tent, erected by the sailors of the *Northumberland,* figures prominently in the view. The inscription, "Buonaparte's Mal-Maison at St. Helena," is sufficiently humorous.

7. *Boney's Meditations.* (*Facing p.* 229.)

Mr. Bruton describes this print as "the finest of the caricatures on Napoleon." In any case it is the best specimen of George Cruickshank's art as applied to the "Last Phase." It was published in August, 1815, by H. Humphrey, of St. James's Street, while the fallen despot was still on board the *Northumberland.* The parody on Milton's lines describing the Devil addressing the Sun ("Paradise Lost," Book IV.) is sufficiently clear. The likeness is better than in the majority of the St. Helena caricatures.

8. *The Rat Plague.* (*Facing p.* 233.)

There are over thirty caricatures of Napoleon at St. Helena in which he is represented as tormented by rats. Most of these are of English origin, but the one now given is French.

GOURGAUD. BERTRAND. NAPOLEON. LAS CASES. MONTHOLON

NAPOLEON AND HIS FELLOW EXILES.

From a contemporary sketch on board the "Northumberland."

INTRODUCTION

THE diaries now republished in this volume are of great interest, whether they are regarded as historical documents or as revelations of character. No man who has emerged from a whirlpool of calamity has ever been more closely observed than was Napoleon during the time which he spent on British warships after his first and second abdications. The opportunity afforded by the voyages to Elba and St. Helena was in more respects than one unexampled. They formed the first periods of rest which he had had for many months, and enabled him to survey the past and to take his bearings for the present and future. A time of rest at sea, especially if it comes after intense mental and bodily strain, is highly favourable to that process of mental stock-taking which the Germans happily term "orient-irung." It must have been so to the great soldier and organiser who for many months had

wearied out ministers, prefects, secretaries, marshals, privates—in fact, every one but his own unweariable frame. The change from the cabinet or the camp to the quarter-deck was one of those surprising changes which loose the tongues even of the uncommunicative; and Napoleon did not belong to that unattractive genus. Further, the regular life on a British man-of-war, and the energy shown by the bluejackets, were certain to prompt in the great captain reflections on the gigantic duel which he had waged against the Island Power. The man who in 1804, and again in 1807, had caused medals to be struck showing himself as Hercules crushing a sea-monster, could not fail to be deeply impressed by the signal reversal of that pictorial prophecy which he now experienced.

Not that Napoleon was prone to indulging in day-dreams. The time for them, perhaps, had scarcely come. The cloud-capped heights and drenching rains of St. Helena were better suited to that mental atmosphere which Lord Rosebery has summed up in the felicitous phrase "The last regrets" than was the machine-like discipline of a warship. The character of the surroundings may have occasioned, at least in part, the difference between the tone of the reflections here set

forth and that of the contents of the doleful "Journal" kept by Gourgaud at Longwood. Both recitals have the unmistakable ring of sincerity and truthfulness. Here and there Captain Ussher and Mr. Secretary Glover may not have caught Napoleon's words in his rapid and not very distinct utterance; but the diaries of the Englishmen, like that of the malcontent French officer at Longwood, possess one great advantage over the other French accounts emanating from St. Helena—they were written with no political bias or personal animus. Every student of the "Mémorial de Ste. Hélène," so cautiously edited by Las Cases after his return to Europe in 1822–23, and of the *Dictées* and *Récits* which Motholon gave to the world in 1846–47, is aware that those works were largely coloured by the desires of the writers to present Napoleon as a Prometheus chained by the kings to a desolate rock for the crime of befriending man and upholding popular liberties. As the late Sir John Seeley finely said, "The curtain was rung down on this last pose." The aim of the draughtsmen, as we now see, was to favour a Napoleonic revival; and, thanks largely to the *Récits*, they succeeded. Those who have read those elaborate political pamphlets, or the still more misleading diatribes of

O'Meara, now have the means of correcting their estimate of the Emperor by a perusal of unbiassed narratives such as those here printed and the diaries kept by Colonel Neill Campbell at Elba, and by Gourgaud, Basil Jackson, and Lady Malcolm at St. Helena. In these we see, not a Prometheus, not an idol set up for partisan purposes, but a man.

The Journals are valuable, not only as historical documents, but as revelations of a very interesting personality. It is true that the fallen hero did not reveal his inmost thoughts on the problems of life and destiny. That was to be expected. A sense of dignity and self-respect doubtless led him to keep a veil drawn over the shekinah of his being; and we look in vain for any of the reflections on the mutability of life which would have furnished the fruitful stock-in-trade to any second-rate Landor who might have attempted to portray his feelings on the *Undaunted* or the *Northumberland.* What strikes the observer is the objectivity of mind of the ex-Emperor. One is almost tempted to call it callousness in regard to one occasion described by Captain Maitland, of H.M.S. *Bellerophon.* It was during the transhipment from that war-worn old craft to the *Northumberland* off Berry

Head, Devon, when he joked with Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon about being sea-sick. Here we should have liked a little more sensibility and reticence.

It seems, however, that the ex-Emperor had the faculty, common to many commanders, of excluding at will from his mental horizon all but the circumstances of the moment. Or the incident may be classed with others which illustrate his eager objectivity of mind, his delight in seeing new sights and odd situations. There are intellects of this order which revel in facts and objects of all kinds. Charles Dickens, though utterly differing from Napoleon in all else, had this mania for observation, this craving for visual details; and his mind grated on itself when the desire could not for long be gratified. Napoleon had the same characteristic. From his father, Charles Bonaparte, he undoubtedly derived the restless, scheming faculty so prominent in his career; but from his mother he inherited that matter-of-fact tendency which I have just noted. The combination of the two types has helped to make Napoleon what he was—the most fertile weaver of plans known to history, but also the hard, determined realist. His practicality often screened him from the nerve-strain to which

more sensitive natures are subject; and it helped to sustain him during the voyages which he made under the Union Jack. The schemes having been cut short at Fontainebleau and Waterloo, the maternal or objective side of his nature asserted itself in a way which was sometimes surprising to others but always sedative as far as he was concerned. On embarking on the *Undaunted* at Fréjus he at once fell to noticing every detail of the ship's equipment, even the number of boats carried. At dinner he entered into the conversation "with great animation"; and throughout the passage to Elba took great interest in questions of navigation, surprising Captain Ussher more than once—*e.g.*, see pp. 64, 67—by his knowledge and powers of observation. His behaviour on the *Northumberland* was at first more reserved than it had been on the *Undaunted* and the *Bellerophon;* but the habit of mind above noted soon showed itself, with the result that he proved one of the best of shipmates. Few fallen potentates have faced the dull void of their future existence with so much of serenity; and to the present writer it seems that Napoleon's calmness was helped by his faculty of encasing himself in the present when new objects were at hand. Not till the close of

the voyage to St. Helena did he begin to sulk; and then not because of the heat (for the winds south of the line were cool), but because his observing powers had by that time sated themselves on the ship and the ship's company.

Foremost in interest among the topics which he discussed with Ussher and Cockburn were naval and military affairs. The account which he gave to Ussher of the naval campaign which ended at Trafalgar shows his remarkable grip of detail. It is almost inconceivable that after nine years his memory for figures should have been so fresh. In the notes appended to this edition I have called attention to inaccuracies or misstatements here as elsewhere; but it is only fair to bear in mind that in reports of a long conversation (like that with Captain Ussher on May 9, 1814) the mistakes are probably due to the reporter rather than to the speaker. Indirectly this conversation throws light on the interesting question whether Napoleon was intent on the invasion of England.

He would surely not have remembered the minute details of his great naval combination of 1805 had it been designed merely as a blind in order to lure on Austria to a premature attack by land. This was what he asserted to the Council

of State in 1806 (so Miot de Melito asserts), and to Metternich when ambassador at Paris in 1810; but those who note the enormous extent of his preparations on the northern coast in 1804–1805, as set forth in his "Correspondence," and the retentiveness of his memory, even of small details, as proved by the conversation with Ussher, will find it difficult to believe that he did not really intend to strike at London. Probably he hoped to effect a landing near the mouth of the Thames (perhaps on the Cliffe peninsula between Sheerness and Gravesend), and trusted to a speedy march on the capital, and to the confusion which would have been the result. It is interesting to note that he was not quite sure what he would have done next. The British Ministers, we now know, had their plans ready for that emergency. They would have retired with the Court and the national treasure to Worcester, or some place beyond the Severn, and would there have waited until the communications of the invaders were cut by Nelson, and their resources exhausted by guerrilla warfare.

Another topic on which these conversations threw light is the tenacity with which Napoleon clung to his schemes for the creation of a great navy. The opinion prevalent in England, I

believe, is that, after Trafalgar, the Emperor gave up the naval game as hopeless. The incorrectness of this notion will be seen by any who will take the trouble to read Napoleon's voluminous correspondence on maritime affairs, especially for the months August, 1807, to June, 1808, and September, 1810, to March, 1811. The fact was, that as long as he held Northern Italy and the Netherlands, his resources for shipbuilding were greater than those of the United Kingdom; and he might well hope to overwhelm the islanders by weight of numbers, provided that he had peace on the Continent. That opportunity never came for long; but in the months named above he thought it had come; and the eagerness with which he pushed on his troops to Cadiz in June, 1808, as also the doggedness with which he held on to the mouths of the Elbe, Rhine, and Scheldt in 1813–14, enable us to gauge the grandeur of those schemes of founding a world-wide Empire, for which a giant navy was an indispensable preliminary. The reader will smile as he reads the assertion (p. 88) of the fallen monarch that if he had remained on the throne he would in three or four years have had at his disposal three hundred sail-of-the-line. In his conversation with Admiral Cockburn, fifteen

months later, he reduced that number by one half.

But these statements are not to be dismissed as mere braggadocio. They represent the projection of that tenacious will on events which had gone awry. To Napoleon the natural and inevitable thing was that France should be the mistress of the world. Even at St. Helena he could never quite understand how it had fallen out otherwise. It is strange that a man who viewed objects and details so closely and accurately should, at least in his later years, have failed to gauge events in the mass at their true significance. Was it due to a want of that invaluable faculty of projecting oneself in imagination to the standpoint of one's opponents?

Even in regard to details his judgment was sometimes at fault—witness his remarks on Waterloo (p. 147). This is the more remarkable, seeing that in his official bulletin of the battle he had correctly attributed the final *débacle* to the repulse of the Guards and the onset of the British light horse (Vandeleur's and Vivian's brigades) on his centre. On the *Northumberland* he merely repeated the parrot cry, so prevalent at Paris after the battle, that the defeat was due to the treason of French

officers, who have never been named. The statement that an hour more of daylight would have altered the result is, of course, absurd. There are, indeed, not a few statements which illustrate one of his besetting faults, that of mendacity; and one at least, that in which he sought to slander the character of that virtuous and most unfortunate queen, Louisa of Prussia, which proves him to have been lacking in gentlemanly feeling. But his untruthfulness is now and again agreeably relieved by frank statements which redound to his own disadvantage. The most important of these is his unhesitating assertion that he, and he alone, was responsible for the condemnation of the Duc d'Enghien. As this statement exactly coincides with the codicil which he added to his will, it must be considered completely to demolish the clumsy attempts of some of his apologists to fasten the blame for the execution on Talleyrand, or Savary, or somebody else.

Herein lies the value of these diaries, that they rank as contemporary documents of great importance; they were penned at a time when Napoleon (to use his own expressive phrase) considered himself as "a dead man." The time had not yet come when, with the help of

Las Cases and Montholon, there was reared that singular fabric of statecraft afterwards termed by Montholon "la politique de Longwood."[1]

It remains to add that the manuscript of Captain Ussher was received by the publisher of this volume on May 28, 1890. A version very similar to it was published in London in 1840, and in Dublin in 1841; but these have long been out of print. The present version first appeared in magazine form in 1893. It was issued in book form by Mr. Fisher Unwin in 1895.

The "Manuscript Diary" of Mr. Glover was received by Mr. Fisher Unwin from the Rev. Octavius Grindon in May, 1890. In substance it is in most parts closely parallel to an "Extract from a Diary of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn," which was first published at Boston (U.S.) in 1833, and by Messrs. Simpkin Marshall & Co., of London, in 1888. It is needless to go into a minute comparison of the two narratives. At many points they are nearly identical, though the Admiral uses the first person, while in the narrative here republished the Admiral's secretary,

[1] "Notes and Reminiscences of a Staff Officer," by Lieut.-Colonel Basil Jackson, p. 160.

Mr. Glover, naturally uses the third person in describing the Admiral's conversations with Napoleon. It seems highly probable that Admiral Cockburn dictated his diary to his secretary, making use of the memory of the latter with respect to the lengthy conversations held at the dinner-table of the *Northumberland.* The fact that that diary was found among Mr. Glover's papers strengthens the supposition that it was almost a joint production. Glover, however, certainly kept a diary of his own; for some details respecting the conduct or conversations of Napoleon's companions, especially of Mme. Bertrand and General Gourgaud, appear only in his diary. The parts dealing with affairs at Plymouth, as also at St. Helena, are far fuller than in the Admiral's own narrative.

Still, it is clear that Glover made extensive use of the information which he appears to have written down at his chief's dictation; and this doubtless accounts for his prohibiting the publication of his own private diary. This prohibition, so consonant with good taste, obviously could not hold good for all time; and in 1893 Glover's diary appeared in magazine form. In 1895 it was issued by the present publisher in a work entitled "Napoleon's last Voyages," comprising

the diaries of Captain Ussher and Mr. Secretary Glover. For the Introduction and Notes the present editor is responsible. The notes to the edition of 1895 have not been retained except on pp. 60, 61, 137–139, 228.

The thanks of the Editor and the Publishers are due to Mr. A. M. Broadley for permission to reproduce eight engravings from his very valuable collection; also to Messrs. G. Bell and Sons for permission to use engravings of "Porto Ferrajo" and "Longwood House, St. Helena."

J. H. R.

PARKSIDE GARDENS,
WIMBLEDON.
July, 1906.

UNIV. OF MICH.

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS USHER, R.N., K.C.B.

To face page 23.

NOTE ON THOMAS USSHER

THOMAS USSHER, who was born in Dublin in 1779, was a descendant of one of the Neville family who settled in Ireland in the reign of King John, and assumed the name of Ussher to perpetuate the name of the office he held at Court.

Entering the navy at the age of twelve years, as midshipman on board the *Squirrel*, Thomas Ussher was nominated acting lieutenant of the *Minotaur*, seventy-four guns, in 1796. In a boat-engagement, April, 1798, he was shot through the right thigh. Thinking his wound was mortal, he directed his party to retire, and then fainted from loss of blood. The French, to their honour, treated him and his fellow-sufferers with the kindest attention, For many months Mr. Ussher was obliged to use crutches; but in June, 1799, with the *Pelican's* cutter and twelve men, he attacked a French privateer, *Le Trompeur*, of five guns and seventy men, lying in

a river at San Domingo. Although the odds were so fearfully against him, *Le Trompeur* was boarded, captured, and destroyed. Altogether, while attached to the *Pelican*, Mr. Ussher was in upward of twenty boat-engagements. September, 1800, he returned to England, and was obliged to retire for a time on half-pay, as his wounds had threatened to produce lockjaw. April, 1804, he was appointed to the command of the brig *Colpoys*, attached to the blockading force under Admiral Cornwallis off Brest. The fleet having been blown off the coast for a time, the admiral was in doubt as to whether the enemy had left the port. On hearing of this, Mr. Ussher, of his own accord, stood close inshore after dark, and, lowering his gig, a four-oared boat, actually entered the harbour, discovered and rowed along the whole French line, and obtained an exact knowledge of the enemy's force. Arriving abreast of the French admiral's ship, he was descried, and pursued by three boats, from which he escaped, as well as from the boats of brigs lying in Camaret Bay. The *Colpoys* joined the admiral next day with the signal flying, "The enemy same as when last encountered." The wound in his thigh having broken out afresh, accompanied by alarming symptoms, Mr. Ussher was obliged

to resign command of the *Colpoys*, but was almost immediately promoted to the command of the *Redwing*, a sloop of eighteen guns, his claims having been backed by testimonials from Earl St. Vincent and Admirals Cornwallis and Graves. His conduct at Aviles had already obtained for him a sword valued at fifty guineas from the Patriotic Society, and he had the satisfaction of receiving from the crew of the *Colpoys* a similar token of "respect and esteem." April 20, 1806, he was engaged in a spirited affair with a division of gunboats and several batteries, and from this time until August 19, in one way or another, he was in constant collision with the enemy, continuing to display the same zeal, skill, and enterprise which had already raised his reputation so high, and led Lord Collingwood to observe that "he was entitled to whatever regard the admiralty might be pleased to show him." During the winter of 1814 Captain Ussher was again stationed off Toulon, and in the following April occurred the interesting events narrated in the following pages. He died June 6, 1848.

W. H. USSHER.

PORTO FERRAJO (ELBA).
(By permission of Messrs. G. Bell & Sons.)

Napoleon's Last Voyages

NAPOLEON'S DEPORTATION TO ELBA

In the month of August, 1813, I was stationed in the *Undaunted*, frigate, in the Gulf of Lyons, with the *Redwing*, Sir John Sinclair, and the *Espoir*, the Hon. Captain Spencer, under my orders. The latter, who had joined me some time before, had brought me letters and papers from England in which were various reports of the reverses of the French army, and of the probable downfall of the Emperor Napoleon. with many speculations and surmises thereupon, and hinting at the possibility of his attempting to make his escape to America. The *Courier* even went so far as to insert in its columns a minute description of the Emperor's person, in case the

attempt should be made. Singularly enough, I cut out the paragraph in question, and wafered it on the bookcase in my cabin, jokingly observing to the other captains, who happened to be dining with me about that time, that they had better take a copy of it, as he might possibly come our way; little imagining, at the time I made this observation, that a few short months would see him at the very same table at which we were then sitting. The *Redwing* and the *Espoir* afterward returned to England, and I remained through the winter cruising off the coast of France.

On April 24, 1814, about ten o'clock at night, being five or six leagues from the city of Marseilles, in company with the *Euryalus*, Captain Charles Napier, then under my orders, my attention was attracted by a brilliant light in the direction of, and seemingly coming from, the town, which I conjectured was an illumination for some important event. I began to think that the *Courier* might prove, after all, to be a true prophet.

Every sail was then set on both ships, and every exertion was made to work up the bay. At daybreak we were close off the land. All was apparently quiet in the batteries, and not

a flag flying; nor were the telegraphs at work, which was uniformly the case on the approach of the enemy. Everything betokened that some great change had taken place.

The morning was serene and beautiful, with a light wind from the southward. Eager to know what had happened, but above all anxious to hear (for who that has once experienced the horrors and miseries of war can wish for its continuance?) that peace had been restored, I sailed in toward the island of Pomegue, which protects the anchorage of the bay of Marseilles. To guard against a surprise, however, should such be attempted, I took the precaution of clearing the ship for action, and made signal to the *Euryalus* to shorten sail, that in the event of the batteries opening unexpectedly upon the *Undaunted*, my friend Captain Napier, by whose judgment and gallant conduct I had on other occasions profited, might render me any assistance, in the event of my being disabled. We now showed our colours, and hoisted at the main a flag of truce, and the royal standard of the Bourbons, which the ship's tailor had made during the night. This flag had not been displayed on the French coast for a quarter of a century. Thus equipped, we were allowed to

approach within gunshot, when we observed men coming into the battery, and almost immediately a shot struck us on the main-deck. Finding it was not their intention to allow us to proceed, I gave orders to wear ship, and hauled down the flag of truce and standard. While wearing, a second shot was fired, which dropped under the counter. This unusual and unwarrantable departure from the rules of civilised warfare I resolved to notice in the only way such attacks ought to be noticed, and determined at once, in the promptest and most energetic way, to convince our assailants that under no circumstances was the British flag to be insulted with impunity. I therefore again wore round, and, arriving within point-blank shot of the battery, poured in a broadside that swept it completely, and in five minutes not a man was to be seen near the guns. It was entirely abandoned.

I now made sail for a second battery, and by signal directed the *Euryalus* to close, intending to anchor off the town. Shortly afterward, observing a boat with a flag of truce standing out of the harbour, I shortened sail to receive it. On coming alongside, I found she had on board the mayor and municipal officers of Marseilles, who had come from the town to apologise for

the conduct pursued by the batteries, intimating that it was an unauthorised act of some of the men. They informed me of the abdication of Napoleon, and of the formation of a provisional government at Paris; I congratulated them on the change. I assured these gentlemen that with regard to the conduct of the batteries I could have no hesitation in forgiving all that had passed, and only hoped that I might be as easily forgiven for the part I had taken; that to prove my confidence in the honour and loyalty of their city, I should anchor my ship abreast of it, a proposition of which they did not seem very much to approve. I then made sail, with the *Euryalus* in company, and dropped anchor in the mouth of the harbour, that I might be the better able to take advantage of any circumstances that might occur. Captain Napier and I then proceeded in the barge of the *Euryalus* toward the land. We found a dense crowd collected at the landing-place, who, as we stopped to inquire for the *pratique* officers, rushed into the water, and, seizing the bow of the boat, hauled me by main force on shore.

Never did I witness such a scene as now presented itself, as, almost choked by the embraces of old and young, we were hoisted on their

shoulders, and hurried along, we knew not whither. I certainly did not envy the situation of my friend Captain Napier, whom I saw most lovingly embraced by an old lady with one eye, from whom he endeavoured in vain to extricate himself, not using, I must say, the gentlest terms our language affords. In this way we arrived at the *hôtel de ville*, amid loud cries of "*Vive les Anglais!*"[1] We were here received by our friends who had come with the flag of truce in the morning, but who were evidently not prepared for such a visit from us now. Indeed, under other circumstances we should not have been justified in appearing there as we did. Conscious, however, that we had no infectious disease on board, and as we had not visited any part of the Mediterranean where the plague prevailed, we endeavoured to quiet their fears, and to satisfy them that no danger was to be apprehended from our visit.

However, this infringement of their sanitary laws, the observance of which they consider so essential to their safety, they appeared to feel

[1] It should be remembered that the South of France, especially Provence, was royalist and anti-Napoleonic in sentiment. See "La Terreur Blanche," by E. Daudet, (Paris, 1906).—J. H. R.

deeply, though I gave them every assurance of the healthy state of the ships. Besides, as I observed, it was no acts of ours, but had been forced upon us by themselves, and under circumstances which we could not very well control. They said there was no previous instance of their sanitary laws having been violated, except by Napoleon when he landed from Egypt.[1] They then invited us, with true French politeness, into the *maison de ville*, remarking at the same time how much their city had suffered in the reign of Louis XIV. from the dreadful plague. A magnificent picture by David, showing some of the horrors of that visitation, hung in one of the principal rooms of the building.

They now politely requested us to wait upon the general in command. We found that officer attending high mass at the cathedral, and it is hardly possible to describe his astonishment, and the excitement caused by seeing two British naval officers, in their uniforms, in the midst of the congregation. I went up to the general, who received me with much apparent cordiality, and with considerable tact (for we were at that

[1] Bonaparte, on landing at Fréjus on October 9, 1799, was carried ashore shoulder-high by the people, in defiance of the sanitary officers.—J. H. R.

time the greater "lion" of the two) invited us to join the procession (I think it was that of the Virgin), for which preparations had been made, and which was about to set out from the church where we then were.

The streets through which we passed were excessively crowded, so much so that it was with the utmost difficulty the procession could make its way at all. The predominance of old people and children among the crowd was remarkable. Commenting upon this to some of the municipal officers, I was told that this was caused by the conscription, which had swept off without distinction (like another plague) all the young men who were capable of bearing arms, causing indescribable misery not only here, but everywhere throughout France. Happy, indeed, were these poor people at seeing us among them, the harbingers of peace, which many of them had so long and ardently desired. That this was the prevailing feeling among them their whole demeanour amply testified, as with loud vociferations of "*Vive les Anglais!*" they plainly told us that we were not unwelcome visitors.

On arriving near the general's house, we were invited to take some refreshments, which we did; but the populace outside were very impatient,

and were not satisfied until we again appeared among them. I now began to reflect on the singular and difficult circumstances in which I was placed, and the responsibility I was incurring, being positively without any information on which I could rely as to the state of affairs outside of Marseilles. Nevertheless, as I knew the ships were prepared for any emergency that might happen, and in the hand of Lieutenant Hastings, my first lieutenant, in whose zeal and gallantry I had the greatest possible confidence, I did not think there was much cause for apprehension, come what might. I had an idea, indeed, that this enthusiasm would not last.

In the midst of all this rejoicing, I received a communication from the commandant of the town, informing me that he had been instructed by his superior, the governor of Toulon, and commander-in-chief of the district, to order us to our ships, and to allow of no further communication excepting by flags of truce. I replied to this somewhat insolent mandate by declaring my determination to remain where I was, telling the commandant pretty plainly that I should not comply with the orders. I knew my strength, and that the ships, by their position, had the entire command of the town.

The governor then intimated that he would march 3,000 men against the town; for this also I was prepared. During this angry discussion, Colonel Campbell,[1] the English commissioner, arrived, bringing with him the following very important note:

"MARSEILLES, *April* 25, 1814. 8 P.M.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has charged me with a mission to accompany the late chief of the French Government, Napoleon Bonaparte, to the isle of Elba, to whose secure asylum in that island it is the wish of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, to afford every facility and protection. Having afterward written to his Lordship that Napoleon had requested that a British ship-of-war might be given to him as a convoy to the French corvette, and at his option

[1] Colonel Sir Neil Campbell was descended from the Campbells of Duntroon, a younger branch of the House of Argyll. He entered the army in 1797, and during the years 1808–10 served with credit in the West Indies. He afterwards distinguished himself in the Peninsular War, and thereafter did good service to the allies in the campaigns of 1813–14 in Central Europe and France: he was badly wounded at the fight of Le Fère Champenoise (March 25, 1814).—J. H. R.

for embarkation, in case of preferring it, his Lordship wrote to me as follows:

"Dated PARIS, *April* 18.

"'My instructions furnish you with authority to call upon His Majesty's officers, by sea and land, to give all due fidelity and assistance to the execution of the service with which you are entrusted. I cannot foresee that any enemy can molest the French corvette on board of which it is proposed Napoleon shall proceed to his destination. If, however, he shall continue to desire it, you are authorised to call upon any of His Majesty's cruisers (so far as the public service may not be prejudiced) to see him safe to the island of Elba.[1] You will not, however, suffer this arrangement to be a cause of delay.'

"Napoleon has since his departure from Fontainebleau toward St. Tropez pressed me to proceed here for this object, which I beg leave

[1] The choice of the Island of Elba for Napoleon's residence was due almost entirely to the Czar Alexander I. The other potentates and their plenipotentiaries pointed out the risk of leaving Napoleon so near to Italy, where he was still popular; but the Czar almost pledged himself for Napoleon's good behaviour at Elba; and a clause of the Treaty of Fontainebleau (April 11) established him there with the title of Emperor.—J. H. R.

to submit to your consideration, hoping that, as the desire to proceed immediately to his destination is in unison with that of the Allied Powers, which would be defeated by delay, in referring to the admiral commanding His Britannic Majesty's fleet, you will find yourself at liberty to proceed to St. Tropez with His Majesty's ship under your command. I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"NEIL CAMPBELL, *Col.*

"*Attached to the Mission of H. E. General Viscount Cathcart.*

"To CAPTAIN USSHER,

"*Senior Officer of his Britannic Majesty's ships off Marseilles.*"

I immediately waited upon Colonel Campbell, who informed me that he had left Napoleon on the road, pursuing his journey to St. Tropez, from which place it had been arranged he was to embark, accompanied by the envoys of the allied sovereigns. I immediately made arrangements for quitting the harbour of Marseilles, and on the following morning (April 26)

set sail for St. Tropez, leaving Captain Napier in command of the station.

On arriving off St. Tropez, we hoisted a red flag at the main, that being the distinguishing signal agreed upon with Colonel Campbell at Marseilles. A boat immediately came out of the harbour with a lieutenant from the French frigate *Dryade* (commanded by the Comte de Montcabri), which was lying there with the corvette *Victorieuse*. The Comte sent his lieutenant to inform me that the Emperor Napoleon had abdicated, and that the Comte de Montcabri had orders from the provisional Government to remain at St. Tropez with the *Victorieuse* for the purpose of conducting the Emperor to the island of Elba, the sovereignty of which island had been guaranteed to him by the allied sovereigns (it now struck me that the red flag at the main was considered in war a signal of defiance). At this moment a boat came alongside with an Austrian officer, Major Sinclair, despatched from Fréjus by Colonel Campbell, to inform me that at the particular request of the Emperor the commissioners of the allied sovereigns had thought proper to change the place of embarkation, and requesting me to proceed to Fréjus.

Fréjus is an open roadstead five or six leagues to the North of St. Tropez. Here it was that Napoleon landed on his return from Egypt. On arriving at the anchorage, I received a note from Colonel Campbell, informing me that horses had been sent down from the town, and an orderly sergeant placed at my disposal, to carry on any communications with the town, which lies on a height three or four miles from the anchorage. I took advantage of this conveyance, and immediately waited on Colonel Campbell, who, although suffering severely from his wounds, immediately accompanied me to the "Chapeau Rouge," a small *auberge*, or hotel (and, I believe, the only one in Fréjus), where Napoleon was lodged. Whatever my previous feelings might have been toward this the most powerful and constant enemy my country ever had to contend with, I am proud to confess that all resentment and uncharitable feeling vanished quickly, and I felt all the delicacy of the situation in which circumstances the most extraordinary had placed me. His faithful follower in adversity, Comte Bertrand,[1] was in attendance, and, having

[1] Comte Bertrand (1770–1844), distinguished as a General under Napoleon, especially at Hanau (November, 1813). He was, above all, noted for his fidelity to his master in and after

announced Colonel Campbell and myself, immediately presented us to the Emperor.

Napoleon was dressed in the regimentals of the Old Guard, and wore the star of the Legion of Honour. He walked forward to meet us, with a book open in his hand, to which he occasionally referred when asking me questions about Elba and the voyage thither. He received us with great condescension and politeness; his manner was dignified, but he appeared to feel his fallen state. Having asked me several questions regarding my ship, he invited us to dine with him, upon which we retired. Shortly afterwards I was waited upon by Comte Bertrand, who presented us with lists of the baggage, carriages, horses, &c., belonging to the Emperor. I immediately made arrangements for receiving them, and then demanded an interview with the several envoys of the allied sovereigns, feeling that, being placed in a position of such peculiar responsibility and delicacy, it was necessary to hear from them the instructions they had received from their respective sovereigns, that I might shape my conduct accordingly, and particularly that I might learn from them what ceremony was to be observed

the first and second abdications (1814 and 1815). He was not a man of culture or of mental power.—J. H. R.

at Napoleon's embarkation, and on arriving on board the *Undaunted*, as I was desirous to treat him with that generosity toward a fallen enemy which is ever congenial to the spirit and feelings of Englishmen. They informed me that their instructions were precise and positive, and that he was *styled by the treaty of Fontainebleau, Emperor and Sovereign of the island of Elba.* I still entertained doubts as to the propriety of receiving him with a royal salute, but Colonel Campbell, in order to remove every doubt on the subject, showed me Lord Castlereagh's instructions to him, which were conclusive.

I now gave orders to embark the Emperor's baggage, carriages, horses, &c. The *Dryade* and the *Victorieuse* soon after arrived in the roads, and anchored. On landing, the Comte de Montcabri expressed his surprise to my first lieutenant on seeing the baggage going on board. But on being presented to the Emperor shortly after, and learning his intention of embarking on board the *Undaunted*, he returned to his ship, and sailed out of the bay, in company with the *Victorieuse*. The *Victorieuse*, I was given to understand, was to have remained at Elba in the Emperor's service.

The party at table consisted of Prince Schoo-

valof, Russian envoy; Baron Koller,[1] Austrian envoy; Comte Truxos, Prussian envoy, and our envoy, Colonel Campbell; Comte Clam, aide-de-camp to Prince Schwarzenberg; Comte Bertrand, Drouot,[2] and I. The Emperor did not appear at all reserved, but, on the contrary, entered freely into conversation, and kept it up with great animation. He appeared to show marked attention to Baron Koller, who sat on his right hand. Talking of his intention of building a large fleet, he referred to the Dutch navy, of which he had formed a very mean opinion; he said that he had improved their navy by sending able naval architects to Holland, and that he had built some fine ships there. The *Austerlitz*, he said, was one of the finest ships in the world. In speaking of her, he addressed himself to Prince Schoovalof, who did not seem to like the reference. The Emperor said the only use he could make of the old Dutch men-of-war was

[1] Baron Köller, Lieut.-General, and aide-de-camp of the Austrian army.

[2] Drouot (1774–1847), son of a baker at Nancy, soon came to the front in the revolutionary wars, distinguishing himself at Wagram, Borodino, Lützen, and Bautzen. At the close of 1813 he became aide-de-camp to Napoleon and aide-major of the Imperial Guard. He was of a modest, reserved disposition, noted for his honesty and trustworthiness.—J. H. R.

to fit them to carry horses to Ireland.[1] He talked of the Elbe; said the importance of this river was but little known, that the finest timber for ship-building could be brought there at a small expense from Poland, &c.

I slept this night at Fréjus, and was awakened at four in the morning by two of the principal inhabitants, who came into my room to implore me to embark the Emperor as quickly as possible, intelligence having been received that the army of Italy, lately under the command of Eugène Beauharnais, was broken up; that the soldiers were entering France in large bodies, and were as devoted as ever to their chief.[2] These gentlemen were afraid the Emperor might put himself at their head. I told them I had no more to do with embarking the Emperor than they had, and requested them to make known their fears

[1] This explains why so often in his naval plans of 1804–1805 Napoleon arranged for an expedition to Ireland to set out from Dutch and Flemish ports. In justice to the Dutch seamen it should be remembered that their navy had been ruined in his service, and that, especially after Camperdown, they fought unwillingly for him. See, too, Napoleon's reference to the Dutch Admiral, Verhuel, on p. 88—J. H. R.

[2] By the Convention signed on April 16, 1814, with the Austrians near Mantua, Eugène, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, was allowed to send away his French troops to France. —J. H. R.

and misgivings to the envoys, who, I dare say, were as little pleased as I was at being awakened at so unreasonable an hour.

It was, indeed, pretty evident that Napoleon was in no hurry to quit the shores of France, and appeared to have some motive for remaining. The envoys became rather uneasy, and requested me to endeavour to prevail upon him to embark that day. In order to meet their wishes, I demanded an interview, and pointed out to the Emperor the uncertainty of winds, and the difficulty I should have in landing in the boats should the wind change to the southward and drive in a swell upon the beach, which, from the present appearance of the weather, would in all probability happen before many hours; in which case I should be obliged, for the safety of His Majesty's ship, to put to sea again. I then took leave, and went on board, and at ten o'clock received the following note from Colonel Campbell:

"DEAR USSHER,—The Emperor is not very well. He wishes to delay embarking for a few hours, if you think it will be possible then. That you may not be in suspense, he begs you will leave one of your officers here, who can make a signal to your ship when it is necessary to

prepare, and he will also send previous warning. I think you had better come up or send, and we can fix a signal, such as a white sheet, at the end of the street. The bearer has orders to place at your disposal a hussar and a horse whenever you wish to go up or down. Let me know your wishes by bearer. You will find me at General Koller's.

"Yours truly,

"N. CAMPBELL."

Napoleon, finding that it was my determination to put to sea, saw the necessity of yielding to circumstances. Bertrand was accordingly directed to have the carriages ready at seven o'clock. I waited on the Emperor at a quarter before seven to inform him that my barge was at the beach. I remained alone with him in his room at the town until the carriage which was to convey him to the boat was announced. He walked up and down the room, apparently in deep thought. There was a loud noise in the street, upon which I remarked that a French mob was the worst of all mobs (I hardly know why I made this remark). "Yes," he replied, "they are fickle people"; and added, "They are like a weathercock."

At this moment Count Bertrand announced the carriages. He immediately put on his sword, which was lying on the table, and said, "*Allons, Capitaine.*" I turned from him to see if my sword was loose in the scabbard, fancying I might have occasion to use it. The folding-doors, which opened on a pretty large landing-place, were now thrown open, when there appeared a number of most respectable-looking people, the ladies in full dress, waiting to see him. They were perfectly silent, but bowed most respectfully to the Emperor, who went up to a very pretty young woman in the midst of the group, and asked her, in a courteous tone, if she were married, and how many children she had.

He scarcely waited for a reply, but, bowing to each individual as he descended the staircase, stepped into his carriage, desiring Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, and me, to accompany him. The carriage immediately drove off at full speed to the beach, followed by the carriages of the envoys. The scene was deeply interesting. It was a bright moonlight night, with little wind; a regiment of cavalry was drawn up in a line upon the beach and among the trees. As the carriage approached, the bugles sounded, which,

with the neighing of the horses, and the noise of the people assembled to bid adieu to their fallen chief, was to me in the highest degree interesting.

The Emperor, having left the carriage, embraced Prince Schoovalof, who, with Comte Truxos, took leave, and returned to Paris, and, taking my arm, immediately proceeded toward the barge, which was waiting to receive us. Lieutenant Smith (nephew of Sir Sidney Smith,[1] who, it is well known, had been for some time confined in the Temple with Captain Wright) was, by a strange coincidence, the officer in command of the boat. He came forward and assisted the Emperor along the gang-plank into the boat. The *Undaunted* lay close in, with her topsails hoisted, lying to. On arriving alongside, I immediately went up the side to receive the Emperor on the quarter-deck. He took his hat off and bowed to the officers, who were all assembled on the deck. Soon afterwards he went forward to the forecastle among the people, and I found him there conversing with those among them who understood a little French. Nothing seemed to escape his observation; the first thing which attracted his notice

[1] Sir Sidney Smith, famous for his defence of Acre against Napoleon in 1799 and his capture of Capri in 1806.—J. H. R.

was the number of boats (I think we had eleven). Having made all sail, and fired a royal salute, I accompanied him to my cabin, and showed him my cot, which I had ordered to be prepared for him. He smiled when I said I had no better accommodation for him, and said that everything was very comfortable, and he was sure he would sleep soundly. We now made all sail, and shaped our course for Elba. At four, his usual hour, he was up and had a cup of strong coffee (his constant custom), and at seven came on deck, and seemed not in the least affected by the motion of the ship. At this moment we were exchanging numbers with the *Malta*, standing toward Genoa, and I telegraphed that I had the Emperor on board.[1] The wind having changed to the south-east, I hauled on the larboard tack toward Corsica. At ten we breakfasted; Comte Bertrand, Comte Drouot, Baron Koller, Colonel Campbell, Comte Clam, and the officer of the morning watch were present. Napoleon was in very good spirits, and seemed very desirous to show that, though he had ambition, England was not without her share also. He said that

[1] An Anglo-Sicilian force under Lord William Bentinck and Sir Edward Pellew captured Genoa on April 18, 1814.—J. H. R.

ever since the time of Cromwell we had set up extraordinary pretensions, and arrogated to ourselves the dominion of the sea; that after the peace of Amiens Lord Sidmouth wished to renew the former treaty of commerce, which had been made by Vergennes after the American war; but that ***he***, anxious to encourage the industry of France, had expressed his readiness to enter into a treaty, not like the former, which it was clear, from the portfolio of Versailles, must be injurious to the interests of France, but on terms of perfect reciprocity—viz., that if France took so many millions of English goods, England should take as many millions of French produce in return.[1] Lord Sidmouth[2] said:

[1] I have not found in my examination of the papers relating to the Peace of Amiens any proof that Napoleon made such a proposal. He and his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, tabooed discussions respecting a treaty of commerce. The last phrase, of Napoleon quoted above is (if correctly reported) a proof of his curiously mechanical ideas on national commerce. In the words of the Minister Chaptal, "Napoleon thought that he could make commerce manœuvre like a regiment" ("Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon," p. 275).—J. H. R.

[2] Addington, Prime Minister from March, 1801 to May, 1804, was created Viscount Sidmouth in 1805. The famous commercial treaty of 1786 was concluded by William Pitt (the younger) and Vergennes, chief Minister of France in 1781–87. It was a noteworthy advance towards free trade.—J. H. R.

"This is totally new. I cannot make a treaty on these conditions."

"Very well. I cannot force you into a treaty of commerce any more than you can force me, and we must remain as we are, without commercial intercourse."

"Then," said Lord Sidmouth, "there will be war; for unless the people of England have the advantages of commerce secured to them, which they have been accustomed to, they will force me to declare war."

"As you please. It is my duty to study the just interests of France, and I shall not enter into any treaty of commerce on other principles than those I have stated."

He stated that although England made Malta the pretext, all the world knew that was not the real cause of the rupture;[1] that he was sincere in his desire for peace, as a proof of which he

[1] This assertion is strange, because Napoleon sought in 1803 to fasten attention on the Maltese question, which was, technically speaking, the weakest part of the British case. The real cause of the rupture was an essential divergence of view on colonial and Oriental policy, in which the future of India, Egypt, and Malta stood in vital relation. For Napoleon's desire of war in 1803, see Lord Holland, "Foreign Reminiscences" (p. 234), who had this information from Gallois.—J. H. R.

sent his expedition to San Domingo. When it was remarked by Colonel Campbell that England did not think him sincere, from his refusing a treaty of commerce, and sending consuls to Ireland, with engineers to examine the harbours, he laughed, and said that was not necessary, for every harbour in England and Ireland was well known to him. Bertrand remarked that every ambassador was a spy.

Napoleon said that the Americans admitted the justness of his principles of commerce. Formerly they brought over some millions of tobacco and cotton, took specie in return, and then went empty to England, where they furnished themselves with British manufactures. He refused to admit their tobacco and cotton unless they took from France an equivalent in French produce; they yielded to his system as being just.[1] He added that now England had it all her own way, that there was no power which could successfully oppose her system, and that she might now impose on France any treaty she pleased. "The Bourbons, poor devils [here he checked himself],

[1] This is a straining of the facts. The United States in November–December, 1810, were overreached by Napoleon's diplomacy. See H. Adams, "History of the United States (1801–1813)."—J. H. R.

are great lords who are contented with having back their estates and castles; but if the French people become dissatisfied with that [the treaty], and find that there is not the encouragement for their manufactures in the interior of the country that there should be, they [the Bourbons] will be driven out in six months.[1] Marseilles, Nantes, Bordeaux, and the coast are not troubled by that, for they always have the same commerce; but in the interior it is another thing. I well know what the feeling is for me at Terrare,[2] Lyons, and those places which have manufactures, and which I have encouraged." [3]

He said that Spain was the natural friend of

[1] This is one sign among many that in 1814 he still cherished great hopes of reigning once more in France. His popularity at Lyons, St. Etienne, &c., which was due to his protective tariff, was to be seen in March, 1815.—J. H. R.

[2] "Terrare" should be Tarare, north-east of Lyons.—J. H. R.

[3] "Les Bourbons, pauvres diables [here he checked himself], ils sont des grands seigneurs qui se contentent d'avoir leurs terres et leurs châteaux, mais si le peuple français devient mécontent de cela, et trouve qu'il n'y a pas l'encouragement pour leurs manufactures dans l'interieur qu'il devrait avoir, ils seront chassés dans six mois. Marseille, Nantes, Bordeaux, et la côte ne se soucient pas de cela, car ils ont toujours le même commerce, mais dans l'interieur c'est autre chose. Je sais bien comment l'esprit était pour moi à Terrare, Lyon, et ces endroits qui ont des manufactures, et que j'ai encouragés."

France and enemy of Great Britain; that it was the interest of Spain to unite with France in support of their commerce and foreign possessions; that it was a disgrace to Spain to allow us to hold Gibraltar. It was only necessary to bombard it night and day for a year, and it must eventually fall. He asked if we still held Cintra. He did not invade Spain, he said, to put one of his family on the throne, but to revolutionise her; to make her a kingdom in right; to abolish the inquisition, feudal rights, and the inordinate privileges of certain classes.[1] He spoke also of our attacking Spain without a declaration of war, and without cause, and seizing the frigates bringing home treasure.[2] Some one remarked that we knew Spain intended to make common cause with him as soon as the treasure should arrive.

[1] This, of course, is an explanation after the event. There is no proof from Napoleon's Correspondence of January–August, 1808, that he was actuated by philanthropic motives towards the Spanish people. Spain and the Spanish naval resources unquestionably entered very largely into the great designs for controlling the Mediterranean and the Orient, which he had closely at heart in the summer of 1808.—J. H. R.

[2] On this question see the remarks of an impartial judge, Captain Mahan, of the United States Navy, "Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire," vol. ii. chap. xv.—J. H. R.

He said he did not want it; all he had was five millions (francs) per month.[1]

On my asking a question regarding the Walcheren expedition, he said he could not hold Walcheren with less than 14,000 men, half of whom would be lost annually by disease; and as he had such means in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, it could at any time be attacked, and by means of superiority of numbers must fall; that the expedition against it was on too great a scale and too long preparing, as it gave him time. He added that he wrote from Vienna that an expedition was going to Antwerp; he thought that a *coup de main* with 10,000 men and with his preparation would have succeeded; laughed at our ignorance in suffering so much time to be lost, and in settling down before Flushing (whereby we lost a large proportion of our army through disease) instead of advancing rapidly on Antwerp; and seemed astonished at our Government's selecting such a commander-in-chief for so important an expedition.

After breakfasting, Napoleon read for some

[1] The sum really was 6,000,000 francs a month. For the whole conversation, see the account (rather fuller in some details) in Sir Neil Campbell's Journal "Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba" (London, 1869), pp. 201–4.—J. H. R.

hours, and came on deck about two o'clock, remaining two or three hours, occasionally remarking what was going forward, as the men were employed in the ordinary duties of the ship, mending sails, drawing yarns, exercising the guns, &c.

After dinner, he referred to a map of Toulon Harbour, and went over the whole of the operations against Lord Hood and General O'Hara (he commanded the artillery there as major). All the other officers, he said, were for a regular siege.[1] He gave in a memoir proposing to drive off the fleet from the inner harbour, which, if successful, would place the garrison of Toulon in danger; that it was upon this occasion he felt the superiority of the new tactics. He related an anecdote of one of the representatives of the people ordering his battery to fire, and unmasking it too soon.

This evening a small Genoese trading-vessel passed near us. I ordered her to be examined, and, as Napoleon was anxious to know the news,

[1] This is not quite correct. The Commissioners of the French Convention had previously put forward a plan for reducing Toulon which in its general outlines resembled that of Bonaparte. The energy of the latter certainly carried the plan through successfully.—J. H. R.

I desired the captain to be sent on board. Napoleon was on the quarter-deck; he wore a great-coat and round hat. As he expressed a wish to question the captain, I sent him to the Emperor on the after part of the quarter-deck, and afterward ordered him down to my cabin. "Your captain," said he, "is the most extraordinary man I ever met; he puts all sorts of questions to me, and, without giving me time to reply, repeated the same questions to me rapidly a second time." When I told him to whom he had been speaking, he appeared all astonishment, and instantly ran on deck, hoping to see him again; but Napoleon, to his great disappointment, had already gone below. When I told Napoleon the man had remarked the rapidity with which he put questions to him twice over, he said it was the only way to get at the truth from such fellows.

One morning when Napoleon was on deck, I ordered the ship to be tacked, and we stood toward the Ligurian coast. The weather was very clear as we approached the land. We had a fine view of the Alps. He leaned on my arm and gazed at them with great earnestness for nearly half an hour; his eye appeared quite fixed. I remarked that he had passed those mountains

America to quarrel with us. He said he was angry with America for suffering her flag to be denationalised.[1] He spoke long on this subject, and said that America had justice on her side; he rather expected America to invade Mexico. He said the expedition against Copenhagen was most unjust, and from every point of view bad policy; and that, after all, we only took a few vessels that were of no use to us; that the gross injustice of attacking a weaker nation, without a cause and without a declaration of war, did us infinite harm.[2] I observed that it was at that time believed that their fleet was sold to him.

In speaking of Toulon, he remarked that he

[1] All this is exactly as in original.—W. H. U. Napoleon had several disputes with the United States on naval and commercial matters, chiefly because their ships, after bringing American produce to France, used to call at British ports and carry back British goods. This, in his view, denationalised them, and he captured and confiscated as many as possible. Mexico was a possession of Spain, then an ally of France.—J. H. R.

[2] The British expedition to Copenhagen in August, 1807 (not to be confused with Nelson's attack in the spring of 1801), was due to the knowledge gleaned by British diplomatists and Ministers of Napoleon's resolve after the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807), to coerce Denmark, and probably make use of her fleet. For proof, see "Napoleonic Studies,' by J. H. Rose, pp. 133–165; also the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1906.

found great inconvenience in being obliged to complete the provisions and stores after the ships went out of the inner harbours, as it gave information of his intentions to British cruisers. To avoid this, he sent the *Rivoli* out from Venice on a camel,[1] with her guns, stores, and provisions on board. He meant to form an establishment for building men-of-war at Bouc, near the mouth of the Rhone, instead of at Toulon, the timber of which was to be brought there by a canal from the Rhone, and that he intended to make Toulon a port of equipment. In speaking of Cherbourg, he described the basin cut out of the solid rock, with docks for ships, executed by his orders, and drew with a pencil on a plan I have of the town a line of fortifications erected for its defence against any expedition from England, which it seemed he expected. The entrance is mined at each side. The Empress Marie Louise visited Cherbourg (when he was in Dresden) at the completion of the works last year. He said he had in his possession what would be invaluable to England, and spoke of the weak and strong points of the empire. Some remarks arising from

[1] A water-tight structure placed beneath a ship to raise it in the water, in order to assist its passage over a shoal or bar.

this observation, he said, "France is nothing without Antwerp; for, while Brest and Toulon are blockaded, a fleet can be equipped there, wood being brought from Poland." He never would consent to give it up, having sworn at his coronation not to diminish France. He had the Elbe sounded and surveyed carefully, and found that it was as favourable as the Scheldt for great naval establishments near Hamburg.[1]

He told me his plans for the navy were on a gigantic scale; he would have had three hundred sail of the line.[2] I observed that it was impossible for him to man half the number. He said the naval conscription, with the enlistment of foreigners which he could have from all parts of Europe, would supply men enough for the whole of the navy; that the Zuyder Zee is particularly well fitted for exercising conscripts.

[1] These statements are of great interest as showing his resolve to have a great navy. They bear also on the question whether, during the Hundred Days (1815), he was really content with the confines of the old monarchy, as restored in 1814, which assigned the Belgic Netherlands to Holland. The British Ministry was equally desirous in 1813–1814 not to make peace until Antwerp was severed from France. See "Castlereagh's Letters," 3rd series, vol. i. p. 74.—J. H. R.

[2] See Introduction, p. 17. The substance of this conversation was reported by Captain Ussher to Lord Holland. See "Foreign Reminiscences," by Lord Holland, p. 274.—J. H. R.

Having expressed some doubts as to the merits of his conscript sailors, he said I was mistaken, and asked my opinion of the Toulon fleet, which I had had frequent opportunities of seeing manœuvre in the presence of our fleet. He begged I would tell him frankly what I thought of it.

The conscripts were trained or exercised for two years in schooners and small craft, and his best officers and seamen were appointed to command them. They were constantly at sea, either to protect the coasting trade or for exercising. He had not calculated on their becoming perfect seamen by these means, but had intended to send squadrons out to the East and West Indies, not for the purpose of attacking the colonies, but for perfecting the men, and annoying, at the same time, the commerce of England.[1] He calculated upon losing some ships, but said he could spare them; that they would be well paid for.

While on this subject, he surprised me by explaining to Baron Koller, and that very well, a very nice point of seamanship, viz., that of keeping a ship clear of her anchor in a tideway. He admired much the regularity with which the

[1] He pursued these plans after Trafalgar. See my article in the *Independent Review* for November, 1905.—J. H. R.

duty of the ship was carried on, everything being so well timed, and, above all, the respect observed by different ranks of officers to one another and to the quarter-deck. He thought this most essential to good discipline, and was not surprised that we were so jealous of the slightest deviation from it. He said that he endeavoured to introduce this into the French navy, but could not drive it into the heads of his captains.

The wind still continuing to the eastward, with a heavy sea, we stood in to get well within the Corsican shore. Having carried away the leech-ropes of the fore- and maintopsails, we repaired them aloft, close reefed them, and sent down topgallant-yards and royalmasts. There now being every appearance of bad weather, I mentioned my intention, if the gale increased, of anchoring at Bastia. Napoleon seemed most desirous that we should anchor at Ajaccio. I explained to him that it was much out of our course. He proposed Calvi, with which he was perfectly acquainted, mentioning the depth of water, with other remarks on the harbour, &c., which convinced me that he would have made us an excellent pilot had we touched there.[1]

[1] Bonaparte was brought up among Corsican sailors. At the military school at Brienne, in eastern France, he was

This evening we fell in and exchanged numbers with the *Berwick*, *Aigle*, and *Alcmene*, with a convoy. I invited Sir John Lewis and Captain Coghlan to dine with me. When they came on board I presented them to Napoleon; he asked them various questions about their ships, their sailing and other qualities. Captain Coghlan was not a little surprised by his asking him if he were not an Irishman and a Roman Catholic. All this night we carried sail to get inshore, the *Aigle* and *Alcmene* keeping company. At daylight we saw the town of Calvi bearing south. Napoleon was on deck earlier than usual; he seemed in high spirits, looked most earnestly at the shore, asking the officers questions relative to landing-places, &c. As we closed with the shore the wind moderated. During the bad weather Napoleon remained constantly on deck, and was not in the least affected by the motion of the ship. This was not the case, however, with his attendants, who suffered a good deal.

The wind now coming off the land, we hauled close inshore. Napoleon took great delight in examining it with his glass, and told us many

at first recommended for the navy; and only a chance circumstance led to the change of this plan. See Chuquet, "La Jeunesse de Napoléon" (Brienne), p. 137.—J. H. R.

anecdotes of his younger days. We rounded a bold, rocky cape, within two or three cables'-lengths, and Napoleon, addressing himself to Baron Koller, said he thought a walk on shore would do them good, and proposed landing to explore the cliffs. The Baron whispered that he knew him too well to trust him on such an excursion, and begged me not to listen to his suggestion.

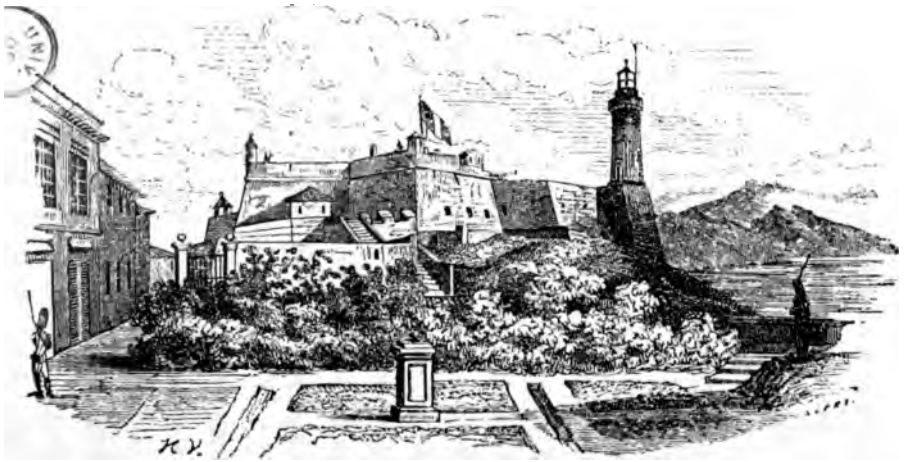
We now hauled in toward the Gulf of St. Florent, fired a gun, and brought to a felucca from Genoa, who informed us that Sir Edward Pellew, the commander-in-chief, and fleet were lying there. We then shaped our course for Cape Corso, which we passed in the night. In the morning we tacked, and stood toward Capraja Isle, and, observing colours flying at the castle, stood close in and hove to. A deputation came off from the island, requesting me to take possession of it, and informing me that there was a French garrison in the castle. I accordingly sent Lieutenant Smith with a party of seamen to hoist the British colours for its protection. Napoleon held a long conversation with the members of the deputation, who expressed the utmost surprise at finding their Emperor on board an English man-of-war. Having now made all sail, and shaped

our course for Elba, Napoleon became very impatient to see it, and asked if we had every sail set. I told him we had set all that could be of any use. He said, "Were you in chase of an enemy's frigate, should you make more sail?" I looked, and, seeing that the starboard top-gallant stunsail was not set, observed that if I were in chase of an enemy I should certainly carry it. He replied, that if it could be of use in that case, it might be so now. I mention this anecdote to show what a close observer he was; in fact, nothing escaped him. When the man stationed at the masthead hailed the deck that Elba was right ahead, he became exceedingly impatient, went forward to the forecastle, and as soon as the land could be seen from the deck was very particular in inquiring what colours were flying on the batteries. He seemed to doubt the garrison's having given in their adhesion to the Bourbons, and, it appears, not without some reason, as they had, in fact, done so only during the preceding forty-eight hours; so that, if we had had a fair wind, I should have found the island in the hands of the enemy, and consequently must have taken my charge to the commander-in-chief,[1] who would, no doubt, have

[1] That is, Sir Edward Pellew, then at Genoa.—J. H. R.

ordered us to England. On nearing Elba, General Drouot, Comte Clam (aide-de-camp to Prince Schwarzenberg), and Lieutenant Hastings, the first lieutenant of the *Undaunted*, were sent ashore, commissioned by Napoleon to take possession of the island. Colonel Campbell accompanied them. They were conducted to the house of General Dalheme, who had received orders from the provisional Government only two days before, in consequence of which he and his troops had given in their adhesion to Louis XVIII., and had hoisted the white flag. The general expressed his desire to do whatever should be agreeable to the Emperor.

May 3, 1814.—One part of Drouot's instructions from Napoleon mentioned his desire to receive the names of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates who would wish to enter into his service. He desired also a deputation of the principal inhabitants to come off to him. About 8 p.m. we anchored at the entrance to the harbour, and soon after the deputation waited upon Napoleon. There had been originally about 3,000 troops, but the desertion and the discharge of discontented foreigners had reduced the number to about 700. The island had been in a state of revolt for several weeks, in consequence



PORTO FERRAJO.
(After Horace Vernet.)

of which the troops were shut up in the fortifications which surrounded the town of Porto Ferrajo.

During the night an Austrian officer was sent off in one of my boats to Piombino, to invite a renewal of communication and to obtain news, &c.[1] This was done by a letter from the commissioners to the commandant, who, however, politely declined communication with us, at the same time stating that he had written to his superior for his permission to do so.

May 4.—Napoleon was on deck at daylight, and talked for two hours with the harbour-master, who had come on board to take charge of the ship as pilot, questioning him minutely about the anchorage, fortifications, &c. At six we weighed anchor, and made sail into the harbour; anchored at half-past six at the Mole Head, hoisted out all the boats, and sent some of the baggage on shore. At eight the Emperor asked me for a boat, as he intended to take a walk on the opposite side of the bay, and requested me to go with him. He wore a great-coat and a round hat. Comte Bertrand, Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Vincent (chief engineer) went with us; Baron Koller

[1] Piombino, formerly an appanage to the Principality of Lucca held by Elisa Bonaparte, was now occupied by the Austrians.—J. H. R.

declined doing so. When half-way ashore Napoleon remarked that he was without a sword, and soon afterward asked if the peasants of Tuscany were addicted to assassination.[1] We walked for about two hours. The peasants, taking us for Englishmen, cried, "*Viva!*" which seemed to displease him.

We returned on board to breakfast. He afterward fixed upon a flag for Elba, requesting me to remain while he did so. He had a book with all the ancient and modern flags of Tuscany; he asked my opinion of that which he had chosen. It was a white flag with a red band running diagonally through it, with three bees on the band (the bees were in his arms as emperor of France). He then requested me to allow the ship's tailor to make two, one of them to be hoisted on the batteries at one o'clock. At 2 p.m. the barge was manned; he begged me to show him the way down the side of the vessel, which I did, and was soon followed by the Emperor, Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, and

[1] It is curious that the first question Napoleon asked of Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena was whether the Corsicans were not bad people, addicted to the use of the dagger. The Emperor always had a poor opinion of the Italians, including those of his native isle.—J. H. R.

Arrival of Napoleon at Elba.

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Comte Clam. The yards being manned, we fired a royal salute, as did two French corvettes which were lying in the harbour at that time. The ship was surrounded by boats with the principal inhabitants and bands of music on board; the air resounded with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive Napoléon!*" On landing, he was received by the prefect, the clergy, and all the authorities, and the keys were presented to him on a plate, upon which he made a complimentary speech to the prefect, the people welcoming him with loud acclamations.

We proceeded to the church through a double file of soldiers, and thence to the *hôtel de ville*, where the principal inhabitants were assembled, with several of whom he conversed. Remarking an old soldier in the crowd (he was a sergeant, I believe, and wore the order of the Legion of Honour), he called him to him, and recollected having given him that decoration on the field of battle at Eylau.[1] The old soldier shed tears; the idea of being remembered by his Emperor fairly overcame him. He felt, I doubt not, that it was the proudest day of his life. Napoleon

[1] For Napoleon's wonderful memory of faces and incidents, see Chaptal ("Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon," p. 337), who says, "Napoléon avait toute son armée dans sa tête."—J. H. R.

afterward mounted a horse, and, attended by a dozen persons, visited some of the outworks, having, before leaving the ship, invited me to dine with him at seven o'clock. I ordered all my wine and stock to be handed to him for his use, the island being destitute of provisions of that sort.

May 5.—At 4 a.m. I was awakened by shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and by drums beating; Napoleon was already up, and going on foot over the fortifications, magazines, and storehouses. At ten he returned to breakfast, and at two mounted his horse, and I accompanied him two leagues into the country. He examined various country-houses, and gave money to all the poor we met on the road. At seven he returned to dinner. I should remark that, before leaving the *Undaunted*, Napoleon requested that a party of fifty marines might accompany him, and remain on shore; but this he afterward changed to an officer and two sergeants, one of whom, O'Gorum (one of the bravest and best soldiers I ever met, and to whom the Emperor had taken a great fancy), he selected to sleep on a mattress outside the door of his bedchamber, with his clothes and sword on. A *valet de chambre* slept on another mattress in the same place, and if Napoleon lay

down during the day, the sergeant remained in the antechamber.

May 6.—At 6 a.m., we crossed the bay in my barge, and found horses waiting for us. We rode to Rion to see the famous iron mountains. We visited several mines, and likewise a temple built by the ancients, and dedicated by them to Jupiter.[1] The road to the latter is highly romantic and beautiful, but is difficult of access, being situated on the summit of a steep and lofty mountain. This obliged us to dismount, and we walked through a thick covert of beautiful trees and shrubs till we arrived at the temple. We saw also a small museum very nicely kept, which contained many fine specimens of the ores of the adjoining mines, two or three of which Napoleon presented to me. He expressed a wish to see the principal mine, and, when everything was prepared, asked Baron Koller, me, and one or two of the party to accompany him. The others politely declined; I, however, accepted his invitation. Two guides with torches accompanied us.

[1] Virgil calls Ilva (Elba)—

"Insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis."
(Æn. x. 173).

In 1814 the iron mines yielded 500,000 francs to the revenue (Sir Neil Campbell's "Journal," p. 253).—J. H. R.

When we arrived at the middle of what appeared to be an immense cavern, the guides suddenly struck the ground with their torches, and all the cave became instantly and splendidly illuminated. At the moment I expected an explosion; Napoleon may have thought so too, but he very coolly took a pinch of snuff, and desired me to follow him.

At Rion the "Te Deum" was chanted, I suppose for the first time, as the officiating priest did not seem to understand his business. In passing through Rion a salute was fired, and Napoleon was received with loud acclamations of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The people seemed very anxious to see him: several old women presented petitions, and numbers pressed forward to kiss his hand. At five we embarked in the barge, and crossed the harbour to Porto Ferrajo. At seven we sat down to dinner. He spoke of his intention of taking possession of Pianosa, a small island without inhabitants, about ten miles from Elba. He said, "All Europe will say that I have already made a conquest."[1] Already he had plans in agitation for conveying

[1] "Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai déjà fait une conquête." In the middle of May, Napoleon sent some troops to annex Pianosa. See Sir Neil Campbell's "Journal," p. 233.—J. H. R.

water from the mountains to the city. It appears always to have been considered by him of the first importance to have a supply of good water for the inhabitants of towns, and upon this occasion it was evidently the first thing that occupied his mind, having, almost immediately after arrival, requested me to go with him in the barge in search of water.[1]

One day, exploring for this purpose, he remarked the boats of the *Undaunted* getting water in a small creek; he said he was quite sure that good water was to be found there. I asked him why he thought so. He said, "Depend upon it, sailors know where to find the best. There are no better judges." We landed at this place, as he desired to taste the water. Jack made the rim of his hat into what is called a "cocked hat," and filled it with water. Napoleon was amused at the contrivance, tasted the water, and pronounced it excellent. The channeling of the streets he also thought of the greatest importance, and requested me to allow the carpenter of the ship to go to him (having learned he was a tolerably good engineer), that he might consult him about forcing the sea-water

[1] For his eager resolve to supply Paris with good water, see Chaptal, "Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon," p. 358.—J. H. R.

by means of pumps to the summit of the hill. I believe he afterward abandoned his sea-water plan, which would have been attended with great expense. He had plans also for a palace and a country-house, and a house for Princess Pauline, stables, a lazaretto, and a quarantine ground. About the latter he asked my opinion.

May 7.—Napoleon was employed visiting the town and fortifications. After breakfast he again embarked in the barge, and visited the different storehouses round the harbour. In making excursions into the country he was accompanied by a dozen officers and the captain of the *gendarmerie;* and one of the *fourriers de palais* always went before, and sometimes a party of *gendarmes à pied.*

After taking our places in the barge, some of the party keeping their hats off, he desired them to put them on, remarking, "We are together here as soldiers."[1] The fishing for the tunny is carried on here by one of the richest inhabitants, who from poverty has amassed a large fortune; he employs a great number of the poor, and has considerable influence. The removal of his stores to a very inferior building, to make way for a

[1] "Nous sommes ici ensemble en soldats."

stable for the Emperor's horses, is likely to give great offence.[1]

May 8.—The *Curaçoa*, Captain Towers, arrived here with Mr. Locker, secretary to Sir Edward Pellew, commander-in-chief. He requested an audience to present to the Emperor a copy of the treaty of peace. Napoleon received Mr. Locker very graciously, and seemed to read the treaty with deep interest; Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, Drouot, General Dalheme, Colonel Campbell, Captain Towers, and I were present. Having read and folded it, he returned it to Mr. Locker, expressing his obligations to the commander-in-chief.

May 9.—Baron Koller, having demanded an audience, took leave of the Emperor, and embarked in the *Curaçoa* for Genoa. This day I accompanied Napoleon to Longone, where we lunched amid repeated cries of *Vive l'Empereur!*"

Longone is a place of considerable strength; the works are regular, the bay is small, but there is a safe anchorage within. Many old people presented petitions, the girls brought flowers, which he accepted with much condescension,

[1] For this and other causes of offence, see Neil Campbell's "Journal," p. 279.—J. H. R.

talking to all, but particularly to those that were pretty. A young lad fell on his knees before him, either to ask charity or merely as a mark of respect; he turned to Colonel Campbell and said, "Ah! I know the Italians well; it is the education of the monks. One does not see that among the northern people." [1] On proceeding a little farther we met two well-dressed young women, who saluted him with compliments. One of them, the youngest, told him with great ease and gaiety that she had been invited to the ball at Longone two days before, but as the Emperor did not attend it, as was expected, she had remained at home.

Instead of returning by the same road, he turned off by goat-paths, to examine the coast, humming Italian airs, which he does very often, and seemed quite in spirits. He expressed his fondness for music, and remarked that this reminded him of passing Mont St. Bernard, and of a conversation he had had with a young peasant upon that occasion. The man, he said, not knowing what he was, spoke freely of the happiness of those who possessed a good house and a number of cattle, &c. He made him

[1] "Ah! je connais bien les Italiens; c'est education des moines. On ne voit pas cela parmi le peuple du nord."

enumerate his greatest wants and desires, and afterward sent for him and gave him all that he had described; "That cost me 60,000 francs." [1]

May 10.—Napoleon rode to the top of the highest hill above Porto Ferrajo, whence we could perceive the sea from four different points, and apparently not an English mile in a straight line in any direction from the spot where we stood. After surveying it for some time, he turned round and laughed, "Eh, my isle is very small." [2] On the top of this hill is a small chapel, and a house where a hermit had resided until his death. Some one remarked that it would require more than common devotion to induce persons to attend service there. "Yes, yes; the priest can say as much nonsense as he wishes." [3]

On the evening of the ninth, after his return from Longone, he entered upon the subject of the armies and their operations at the close of the last campaign, and continued it for half an hour, until he rose from table. After passing

[1] "Cela m'a couté 60,000 francs."

[2] "Eh, mon île est bien petite."

[3] "Oui, oui; le prêtre peut dire autant des bêtises qu'il veut." This might be cited as proof of Napoleon's complete indifference to Roman Catholicism save as a political force.—J. H. R.

into the presence-chamber, the conversation again turned on the campaign, his own policy, the Bourbons, &c., and he continued talking with great animation till midnight, remaining on his legs for three hours. He described the operations against the allies as always in his favour while the numbers were in any sort of proportion; that in one affair against the Prussians, who were infinitely the best, he had only 700 infantry *en tiralleurs*, with 2,000 cavalry and three battalions of his guards in reserve, against double their number. The instant these old soldiers showed themselves, the affair was decided.

He praised General Blücher: "The old devil has always attacked me with the same vigour; if he was beaten, an instant afterward he was ready again for the combat."[1] He then described his last march from Arcis to Brienne; said that he knew Schwarzenberg would not stand to fight him, and that he hoped to destroy half his army. Upon his retreat, he had already taken an immense quantity of baggage and guns.[2] When it was reported to him that the

[1] "Le vieux diable m'a toujours attaqué avec la même vigueur; s'il était battu, un instant après il se rencontrait prêt pour le combat."

[2] Napoleon's sudden march eastwards towards Châtillon-sur-Seine on March 20–24, 1814, was with the aim of cutting

enemy had crossed the Aube to Vitry, he was induced to halt; he would not, however, credit it till General Gérard assured him that he saw 20,000 infantry. He was overjoyed at this assurance, and immediately returned to St. Dizier, where he attacked Wintzingerode's cavalry, which he considered the advance-guard of Schwarzenberg's army; drove them before him a whole day, like sheep, at full gallop, took 1,500 or 2,000 prisoners, and some light pieces of artillery, but, to his surprise, did not see any army, and again halted. His best information led him to believe that they had returned to Troyes. Accordingly he marched in that direction, and then ascertained, after a loss of three days, that the armies of Schwarzenberg and Blücher had marched upon Paris.[1] He then ordered forced marches, and went forward himself (with his suite and carriages) on horseback night and day. Never were he and his friends more gay and confident. He knew, he said, all the workmen of Paris would fight for him. What

the communications of the allies and detaching the Austrians from the coalition. See proofs in my "Napoleonic Studies," pp. 264–270.—J. H. R.

[1] Much of this is incorrect. Schwarzenberg did *not* march towards Paris with Blücher. It was the armies of Blücher and Bülow that occupied the capital.—J. H. R.

could the allies do with such a force? The national guards had only to barricade the streets with casks, and it would be impossible for the enemy to advance before he arrived to their assistance. At 8 a.m., a few leagues from Paris, he met a column of stragglers, who stared at him, and he at them. "What does this mean?"[1] he demanded. They stopped and seemed stupefied: "What! it is the Emperor!"[2] They informed him that they had retreated through Paris; he was still confident of success. His army burned with desire to attack the enemy and to drive them out of the capital. He knew very well what Schwarzenberg would risk, and the composition of the allied army compared with his own; that Schwarzenberg never would hazard a general battle with Paris in his rear, but would take a defensive position on the other side. He himself would have engaged the enemy at various points for two or three hours, then have marched with his 30 battalions of guards and 80 pieces of cannon, himself at the head, upon one part of their force. Nothing could have withstood that; and although his inferiority of numbers would not have enabled

[1] "Qu'est-ce que c'est que cela?"
[2] "Quoi! c'est l'Empereur!"

him to hope for a complete victory, yet he should have succeeded in killing a great number of the enemy and in forcing them to abandon Paris and its neighbourhood. What he would afterward have done must have depended on various circumstances. Who could have supposed that the senate would have dishonoured themselves by assembling under the force of 20,000 foreign bayonets (a timidity unexampled in history), and that a man who owed everything to him—who had been his aide-de-camp, and attached to him for twenty years—would have betrayed him![1] Still, it was only a fraction which ruled Paris under the influence of the enemy's force; the rest of the nation was for him. The army would, almost to a man, have continued to fight for him, but with so great an inferiority in point of numbers that it would have been certain destruction to many of his friends and a war for years. He preferred, therefore, to sacrifice his own rights.

[1] This was Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, who marched his division, some 12,000 strong, into the allied lines near Essonne. The French troops afterwards coined the verb *raguser—i.e.*, "to betray." The Duke of Wellington thought that, previous to Marmont's defection, Napoleon's chances of winning a victory over the allies near Paris were by no means desperate. See Stanhope's "Conversations with the Duke of Wellington," p. 8.—J. H. R.

It was not for the sake of a crown that he had continued the war; it was for the glory of France, and not for the sake of plans which he saw no prospect of realising. He had wished to make France the first nation in the world; now it was at an end. "I have abdicated; at present I am a dead man!" [1] He repeated the latter phrase several times. In remarking on his confidence in his own troops and the Old Guard, and on the want of union among the allies, he referred to Colonel Campbell to say candidly if it were not so. Colonel Campbell told him it was; that he had never seen any considerable portion of the French army, but every one spoke of the Emperor and his Old Guard as if there was something more than human about them. Napoleon said that the inferiority which he conceived of Schwarzenberg's army was justly founded—it had no confidence in itself or in its allies; each party thought he did too much, and his allies too little, and that they were half-beaten before they closed with the French. He sneered at Marmont's anxiety for his life: "Was there ever anything so artless as that capitulation?" [2] Marmont wished to protect his person,

[1] "J'ai abdiqué; à présent je suis un homme mort!"

[2] "Fut-il jamais rien si naïf que cette capitulation?"

but deserted, leaving him and the whole of his comrades open to the surprise of the enemy; for it was his corps which covered the whole front. The night previous Marmont said to him, "I answer for my corps d'armée."[1] So he might. The officers and soldiers were enraged when they found what had been done—8,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of cannon. "*Voila l'histoire!*" He animadverted on Marmont's conduct before Paris, saying, "Who ever heard of such a thing—two hundred pieces of artillery in the Champs de Mars and only sixty on the heights of Montmartre!" General Dalheme asked if he had not fought with vigour.[2]

This was nearly all that passed at that time. After accompanying him into another room, he resumed the conversation, enlarging upon the general state of his army and the policy of France. He seemed to repent his abdication,

[1] "Pour mon corps d'armée j'en réponds."

[2] It has generally been recognised that Marmont and Mortier made a creditable defence of Paris on the side of Montmartre. The city was largely disaffected, and there were no regular fortifications. As to the disposition of the cannon, Napoleon had been misinformed. For the dispositions of the French on March 30, 1814, see Houssaye, "1814," pp. 484–6. There were certainly 80 cannon on Montmartre. The defenders numbered 42,000 men, while the allies had in all about 111,000.—J. H. R.

and said that had he known that it was owing only to the treachery of Augereau that his army fell back behind Lyons, he would have united his own to it even after Marmont's capitulation.[1] He animadverted strongly upon the conduct of Augereau, yet he met him with all the kindness of a friend. The first idea of his defection struck him after separating from him on the road between Valence and Lyons. The spirit of the troops was such that he durst not remain among them, for on his arrival many old soldiers and officers came up to him weeping, and said they had been betrayed by Augereau, and requested Napoleon to put himself at their head. He had an army of 30,000 fine men, many of them from the army of Spain, which ought to have kept its ground against the Austrians. He again spoke of Marmont's defection, saying that it was reported to him in the morning, but that he did not believe it; that he rode out and met Berthier, who confirmed it from an undoubted source. He referred to the armistice between Lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand, saying that he thought

[1] Whether Augereau was guilty of treachery or only of extreme slackness at and near Lyons is not fully proven. The marshal was aged, and had never been himself since his severe wound at Eylau (1807).—J. H. R.

the allies were pursuing a bad policy with regard to France by reducing her so much, for it would wound the pride of every man there.[1] They might have left her much more power without any risk of seeing her again on an equality with several other powers.

France had no longer any fleet or colonies; a peace would not restore ships or San Domingo. Poland no longer existed, nor Venice; these went to aggrandise Russia and Austria. Spain, which is the natural enemy of Great Britain, more so than of France, was incapable of doing anything as an ally. If to these sacrifices were added that of a disadvantageous treaty of commerce with Great Britain, the people of France would not remain tranquil under it, "not even six months after the foreign powers have quitted Paris."[2] He then remarked that a month had already elapsed, and the King of France had not yet come over to the people who had placed him on the throne. He said England now would do as she pleased; the other powers were nothing

[1] The return of France to the "ancient limits," those of 1791, was decided, not by the Treaty of Fontainebleau (April 11, 1814), but by the Treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814).—J. H. R.

[2] "Pas même six mois après que les puissances étrangères quittèrent Paris."

in comparison. "For twenty years at least no power can make war against England, and she will do as she wishes."[1] Holland would be entirely subservient to her. The armistice gave no information as to the ships at Antwerp or in the Texel. "The brave Verhuel continues to defend himself."[2] (This admiral commanded the ships at Antwerp.) He then enumerated the ships he had in each of the ports, saying that in three or four years he would have had three hundred sail of the line—"What a difference for France!"[3] with many other remarks in the same strain.

Colonel Campbell remarked, "But we do not know why your Majesty wishes to annihilate us." He laughed and replied, "If I had been minister of England, I would have tried to make her the greatest power in the world."[4] Napoleon frequently spoke of the invasion of

[1] "Pour vingt années au moins aucune puissance ne peut faire guerre contre l'Angleterre, et elle fera ce qu'elle veut."

[2] "Le brave Verhuel se défend toujours."

[3] "Quelle différence pour la France."

[4] "Si j'avais été ministre d'Angleterre, j'aurais tâché d'en faire la plus grande puissance du monde." It is said that in 1794 Napoleon was on the point of offering his services to the British East India Company; but there seems to be no documentary proof of this.—J. H. R.

England; that he never intended to attempt it without a superiority of fleet to protect the flotilla. This superiority would have been attained for a few days by leading ours out to the West Indies, and suddenly returning. If the French fleet arrived in the Channel three or four days before ours, it would be sufficient. The flotilla would immediately push out, accompanied by the fleet, and the landing might take place on any part of the coast, as he would march direct to London. He preferred the coast of Kent, but that must have depended on wind and weather; he would have placed himself at the disposal of naval officers and pilots, to land the troops wherever they thought they could do so with the greatest security and in the least time. He had 1,000,000 men, and each of the flotilla had boats to land them; artillery and cavalry would soon have followed, and the whole could have reached London in three days. He armed the flotilla merely to lead us to suppose that he intended it to fight its way across the Channel; it was only to deceive us.[1] It was

[1] See Introduction, pp. 15, 16. Of course the "1,000,000 men" refer to the total forces of the French Empire. The "Army of England" encamped at and near Boulogne numbered about 120,000 men. It is quite certain that *at first*, in 1803,

observed that we expected to be treated with great severity in case of his succeeding, and he was asked what he would have done had he arrived in London. He said it was a difficult question to answer; for a people with spirit and energy, like the English, was not to be subdued even by taking the capital. He would certainly have separated Ireland from Great Britain, and the occupying of the capital would have been a death-blow to our funds, credit, and commerce. He asked me to say frankly whether we were not alarmed at his preparation for invading England.

He entered into a long conversation with Comte Drouot, who was with Admiral Villeneuve in the action with Sir Robert Calder, and said that Villeneuve was not wanting either in zeal or talents, but was impressed with a great idea of the British navy. After the action, he was entreated by all the officers to pursue the British squadron and to renew the action. Napoleon said that about the end of the campaign of 1804, before England had seized the

he believed that the flotilla of armed vessels and small boats could fight its way across. But the advice of his admirals finally convinced him that the convoy of a fleet was necessary. Hence the elaborate naval schemes of 1804–1805.—J. H. R.

Spanish galleons, and before he had obtained from Spain an entire and frank co-operation, having then no auxiliary but the Dutch, he wished to run the Toulon fleet through the Straits, unite it to six sail of the line at Rochefort, and to the Brest fleet, which consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and with this combined force to appear before Boulogne, there to be joined by the Dutch fleet, thus securing the passage and landing of his troops. He said he was diverted from his intentions by the Austrians.[1]

At the death of Admiral de la Touche-Tréville, one of his ablest admirals, Villeneuve was appointed commander-in-chief at Toulon, and hoisted his flag on the *Bucentaure*.[2] His squadron consisted of four 80-gun ships, eight 74-gun ships, six frigates, and 7,000 troops. On March 30, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve sailed from Toulon, and on April 7 was before Carthagena, waiting a reinforcement of six Spanish

[1] The action between Calder and Villeneuve took place off Cape Finisterre on July 22, 1805. Not till August 22–29 did Austria's preparations cause him seriously to consider the abandonment of his projects of invasion of England. This is made quite clear by his letter written on those days.—J. H. R.

[2] La Touche-Tréville died at Toulon on August 20, 1804.—J. H. R.

sail of the line. These ships not being ready, he pursued his course about the middle of April, appeared before Gibraltar, and chased Sir John Orde, who, with five sail of the line, was before Cadiz.

Admiral Villeneuve was joined by a seventy-four and two corvettes, and by Admiral Gravina with six sail of the line and 2,000 troops, making eighteen sail of the line in all. May 9, Villeneuve opened his sealed orders, and gave Admiral Gravina his instructions, which were to separate with his squadron, reinforce the garrison of Porto Rico and Havana, and rejoin him at a prescribed rendezvous. Villeneuve anchored at Martinique on May 14, and heard that Admiral Missiessy had just left the West Indies. Missiessy sailed from Rochefort June 11, his squadron consisting of six sail of the line, three frigates, and 3,000 troops, his flag-ship being the *Majestueux.*[1]

Napoleon said he was visiting the fortresses on the Rhine when he wrote the orders for

[1] This account is correct in nearly all particulars, but Missiessy sailed from Rochefort on January 11, 1805, not June 11. For Napoleon's powers of memory, see Lord Holland, "Foreign Reminiscences," pp. 272–3, and Chaptal, "Souvenirs," pp. 334–6.—J. H. R.

these expeditions—the first to reinforce Martinique and Guadaloupe, and to take Dominica and St. Lucia; the second to take Surinam and its dependencies, and to strengthen San Domingo; the third to St. Helena.[1] It was before he quitted Milan to visit the departments of the East that he learned of the return of the Rochefort squadron. He blamed the precipitation with which Dominica had been abandoned.[2] He saw in this fortunate cruise the advantage he had gained; he felicitated himself in having concealed the secret of the destination of Villeneuve; still, he was uneasy about Nelson. In his despatch written at the moment of his departure from Milan he said: "It is uncertain what Nelson intends doing. It is very possible that the English, having sent a strong squadron to the East Indies,

[1] Napoleon's orders for these expeditions were written on September 29, 1804, at Mainz (Mayence). See Napoleon "Correspondance," vol. ix., No. 8060. Surinam, in Dutch Guiana, fell to a British force in May, 1804. See James, "Naval History," vol. iii. p. 297.—J. H. R.

[2] General Lagrange, with the troops on board Missiessy's squadron, took part of the island of Dominica, but, failing to reduce Prince Rupert Fort, sailed away (February, 1805). See James, "Naval History," vol. iv. p. 79, and Napoleon, "Correspondance," No. 8846, vol. x. (June 6, 1805).—J. H. R.

have ordered Nelson to America. I am, however, of the opinion that he is still in Europe; the most natural supposition is that he has returned to England to refit, and to turn his men over to other vessels, as some of his ships need docking."[1] He impressed on the mind of the Minister of Marine the importance he attached to Villeneuve's having the means of victualling the fleet at Ferrol. He said, with respect to the Rochefort squadron, that the English would no doubt send a squadron after them. "One must not calculate upon what it is the duty of the admiralty to do, with 100,000 men at Boulogne, seven sail of the line in the Texel, with an army of 30,000 men and a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line at Brest. It may happen that Villeneuve will return suddenly; but he might also direct his course to India or to Jamaica. What responsibility, then, weighs on the heads of the ministry if they allow months to pass without sending a force to protect the colonies! It is scarcely probable that England can at any time assemble sixty-five sail of the line. Word must be sent to Villeneuve the moment he arrives

[1] These sentences occur in Napoleon's letter from Milan (June 9, 1805) to Vice-Admiral Decrès, "Correspondance," vol. x., No. 8871.—J. H. R.

at Ferrol, as nothing gives greater courage and clears the ideas so well as knowing the position of the enemy.

"It is true that the English have 111 sail of the line, of which three are guard-ships, and sixteen prison-ships and hospitals. There remain, then, ninety-two, out of which twenty are undergoing repairs (that is, not ready for sea); there remain seventy-two, the disposition of which is, probably, eight or ten in India, three or four at Jamaica, three or four at Barbadoes, making fourteen or eighteen, leaving fifty-four or fifty-eight with which it is necessary to blockade Cadiz, Ferrol, and Brest, and to follow Villeneuve and Missiessy. The following is the state of our force: Twenty-two at Brest, fifteen at Cadiz, twelve at Ferrol, twenty with Villeneuve, one at Lorient, five with Missiessy—total seventy-five. The fifteen at Cadiz occupy only five English; deduct ten from seventy-five, there remain sixty-five which could be united. It is scarcely possible that the English at any time can assemble sixty-five."

Villeneuve, having sailed to the West Indies, was pursued by Nelson. He left the anchorage at Martinique on May 21, captured a convoy off Barbadoes, and another off the Azores, fell

in with and captured a privateer, with a rich prize, a galleon. He was afterward reinforced by Admiral Magon de Clos-Doré, with two sail of the line, and received from him instructions to proceed to Ferrol, where he could be reinforced by five sail of the line under the command of Rear-Admiral Gourdon, and six sail of the line (Spaniards, under the command of Grandelina), and a third squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Lallemand, consisting of five sail of the line (formerly under the command of Missiessy). It was with this fleet of about forty sail of the line that Villeneuve, driving away Admiral Cornwallis from Brest, would necessarily open the passage for Admiral Gantheaume, who had twenty-two sail of the line, and form at the entrance to the Channel sixty-two sail of the line, six 3-deckers, nine 80-gun ships, and forty-seven seventy-fours, for the purpose of covering the 2,283 transports of which the flotilla consisted. Such was Napoleon's plan, the execution of which was defeated by Villeneuve, who after the action with Sir Robert Calder, went into Vigo, landed his wounded, and, leaving three sail of the line there, ran into Corunna, where he was reinforced by six sail of the line (French), and ten sail of the

line (Spanish), making thirty-one sail of the line.[1]

Napoleon was at Boulogne at that time, and learned from England the situations of the different squadrons. He ordered Gantheaume to anchor at Brest, and to be ready to join Villeneuve with the twenty-two sail of the line, three of them 3-deckers. August 21 Gantheaume anchored in the bay. August 10, the wind being easterly, Villeneuve, having been reinforced by the French and Spanish squadrons under Gourdon, Gravina, and Grandelina, anchored in the bay of Anas, near Ferrol, and put to sea. The 13th, nothing being then in sight, he first steered north-west, suddenly changed his course to the south, out of sight of land, cruised four days off St. Vincent, and entered Cadiz the 21st, the very day that he was expected at Brest. Lord Collingwood was before Cadiz with four sail of the line; was surprised and narrowly escaped.

While this was going on, Admiral Lallemand,

[1] For this battle of July 22, 1805, off Cape Finisterre, and Villeneuve's subsequent proceedings, see James, "Naval History," vol. iii. pp. 356–375; and Mahan, "Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire," vol. ii. pp. 169–174. In the account given above Vigo is wrongly substituted for Ferrol.—J. H. R.

with four sail of the line, was cruising in the Bay of Biscay. His orders were to cruise for a certain period, then to wait in a particular latitude for orders, and, if none reached him, to proceed to Vigo, the 13th, in order to reinforce Villeneuve. He executed his orders punctually, and anchored on the 16th, two days after Villeneuve had sailed, who, although he expected this reinforcement, had left no orders for Lallemand, compromising by this extraordinary conduct the safety of the squadron. Lallemand, finding no orders, put to sea again, and cruised till December 24. He took a 50-gun ship, a sloop of war, and anchored at Rochefort the 24th of December. Napoleon was at Boulogne when he learned from England the certainty of Villeneuve's arrival at Cadiz. He was furious, saying, "It is treason."

Villeneuve, before leaving Ferrol, said that he was going to Brest, and even wrote to Lallemand, who was to meet him at Vigo. Notwithstanding that he expected this squadron at Vigo, he passed the harbour without sending in. Napoleon ordered the Minister of Marine to make a report of these proceedings.[1]

[1] Villeneuve's reason for sailing to Cadiz was that the wind was north-east, and that he heard that a superior British

May 26.—Napoleon had been so long expecting his troops, baggage, horses, &c., that he began at length to show signs of impatience, and to suspect the good faith of the French Government; but when I informed him that our transports were engaged, and might shortly be expected at Elba, he seemed satisfied, complimented us on our generosity, and added that had he known that our ships were to bring his troops, he should not have had a moment's uneasiness. I dined with Napoleon the following day. While at table a servant announced one of my officers, who wished to see me. It was an officer whom I had stationed at a signal fort that I had established on a commanding height. He reported seven sail in the north-west quarter, standing toward the island. I had no doubt from the number of

force was in front of him. His prudence has been generally censured. See Mahan, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 180.

It must be admitted that the length of this conversation is suspicious. No date is assigned to it, and it seems to be a *résumé* of several talks. On May 17 Captain Ussher, with his ship the *Undaunted*, sailed from Elba to Fréjus in order to bring back Princess Pauline Borghese (*née* Bonaparte). See the "Journal" of Sir Neil Campbell, pp. 232, 236. It is strange that Ussher does not mention this circumstance. Perhaps the conversation was written down on that cruise. The Princess was brought from Villa Franca by a Neapolitan frigate.—J. H. R.

vessels, and the course that they were taking, that they were the long-expected transports.

Napoleon almost immediately rose from the table, and I accompanied him to his garden, which with his house occupies the highest part of the works, and has a commanding view of the sea toward Italy and the coast of France. Full of anxiety, he stopped at the end of every turn, and looked eagerly for the vessels. We walked till it was quite dark; he was very communicative, and his conversation highly interesting. It was now near midnight. I told him that with a good night-glass I should be able to see them; for with the breeze they had they could not be very far from the island. He brought me a very fine night-glass, made by Donaldson, which enabled me to see the vessels distinctly. They were lying to. He was much pleased, and in the highest spirits wished me good-night.

At four in the morning he was out again giving orders. I was awakened by the beating of drums and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" He ordered the harbour-master and pilots out to the transports, made arrangements for the comfort of his troops, and provided stables for one hundred horses. At about seven o'clock the troops were landed, and paraded before Napoleon,

who addressed every officer and private. They appeared delighted at seeing their Emperor again. Among the officers were several Poles, remarkably fine young men. At eight o'clock I ordered half the crew of the *Undaunted* to be sent on board the transports, and by four o'clock the whole of the baggage, carriages, horses, &c., was landed, and the transports were ready for sea. During the entire operation Napoleon remained on the quay under an excessively hot sun.

When I informed him that everything was landed, and that the transports were ready for sea, he expressed surprise, and said, pointing to some Italian sailors, "Those fellows would have been eight days doing what your men have done in so many hours; besides, they would have broken my horses' legs, not one of which has received a scratch." General Cambronne, who came in command of the troops, remained in conversation with Napoleon the whole time.[1] At four the Emperor mounted his horse and rode into the country, and returned to dinner at seven. At half-past seven he rose from the table, and I

[1] Cambronne afterwards at Waterloo commanded a brigade of the Imperial Guard. He was credited (but it seems on insufficient grounds) with uttering the noble phrase "The Guard dies but does not surrender."—J. H. R.

accompanied him to his garden, where we walked till half-past eleven. It was during this conversation that I told him it was generally thought in England that he intended to rebuild Jerusalem, and that which gave rise to the supposition was his convoking of the Sanhedrim of the Jews at Paris.[1] He laughed, and said the Sanhedrim was convoked for other purposes; it collected Jews who came from all parts of Europe, but particularly from Poland, and from them he obtained information of the state of Poland. He added that they gave him much useful information, that they were well informed as to the real state of the country on every point, and possessed all the information he wanted, and which he was able to turn to account, and found to be perfectly correct. Great numbers came to Paris on that occasion, among them several Jews from England.

In talking of his marshals, he seemed to regret that he had not allowed some of them to retire. He said they wanted retirement. He ought to have promoted a batch of young men, who would

[1] Napoleon organised the Jewish community because he desired to make use of their financial power. A curious story is told respecting the convocation of the Sanhedrim by Chaptal, "Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon," p. 243, showing Napoleon's fatalism.—J. H. R.

UNIV. OF MICH.

One of the Numerous "Back Views" of Napoleon.
To the Right Stands Louis XVIII

To face page 103.

have been attached to him, like Masséna. He considered Gouvion St. Cyr one of his best soldiers.[1] He said Ney was a man who lived on fire, that he would go into the cannon's mouth for him if he were ordered; but he was not a man of talent or education.[2] Marmont was a good soldier, but a weak man. Soult was a talented and good soldier. Bernadotte, he said, had behaved ill on one occasion, and should have been tried by a court martial;[3] he did not interfere or influence in any way his election by the Swedes. He had a high opinion of Junot, who stood at his side while he was writing a despatch on a drum-head, on the field of battle, during which time a shot passed, tearing up the earth about them.[4] Junot remarked that it

[1] For Gouvion St. Cyr's abilities but incurable nonchalance, see Marbot's "Memoirs," ch. lxvi.—J. H. R.

[2] Ney had not distinguished himself in the campaigns of 1813–14. He was badly beaten by Bülow at Dennewitz, September 6, 1813.—J. H. R.

[3] This refers to Bernadotte's supposed slackness on the day of Jena (October 14, 1806); he has been in part exculpated by Foucart, "La Campagne de 1806," pp. 604–606 and 694–697.—J. H. R.

[4] This incident occurred in one of the forts in front of Toulon in the autumn of 1793. It is said to have laid the foundation of the long friendship of Napoleon for Junot.—J. H. R.

was very apropos, as he needed sand to dry his ink.

The following morning I requested an interview before taking leave, on my sailing from Elba to join the commander-in-chief at Genoa. He was alone at the time. He seemed affected, and requested me to prolong my stay at Elba, and asked me if the wind was fair for Genoa. He said, "You are the first Englishman I have been acquainted with," and spoke in a flattering manner of England. He said he felt under great obligations to Sir Edward Pellew, and requested that I would assure him of his gratitude for the attention shown him; that he hoped, when the war with America was terminated, I would pay him a visit. I told him I had that morning breakfasted with the Comte de Montcabri on board the frigate *Dryade;* that he informed me that the Prince of Essling had had a dispute with Sir Edward Pellew, and that the French Government had, in consequence, some intention of removing him from the command at Toulon. He remarked that he was one of his best marshals, a man of superior talent; but that his health was bad in consequence of bursting a blood-vessel. I said it was understood that he was so much displeased with the conduct of the Prince of

Essling in the Peninsula that he had ordered him to Barèges. He replied that I was greatly mistaken, that, at the time referred to, the Prince's health was very delicate, and his physicians recommended him to go to Nice, the place of his birth, and that after his recovery he was given the command of Toulon, which was just then vacant.[1] I requested the Emperor to allow me to present Lieutenant Bailey, the agent of transports, who had been appointed to embark his guards, &c., at Savona. He thanked Lieutenant Bailey for the attention paid to his troops, and for the care which had been taken of his horses, and remarked how extraordinary it was that no accident had happened to them (there were ninety-three) either in the embarkation or disembarkation, and complimented him highly on his skill and attention, adding that our sailors exceeded even the opinion he had long since formed of them.

During this conversation Napoleon gave a remarkable proof of his retentive memory, and of his information on subjects connected with

[1] The Prince of Essling was Marshal Masséna. This apology for him by Napoleon is very strained. It is well known that he was disgraced for his failure in Portugal in the campaign of Torres Vedras.—J. H. R.

naval matters. Lieutenant Bailey informed him that, after the guards had embarked, a violent gale of wind arose, with a heavy sea, which at one time threatened the destruction of the transports, and that he considered Savona a dangerous anchorage. Napoleon remarked that if he had gone to a small bay (I think it was Vado) near Savona, he might have lain there in perfect safety.[1] He requested me to inform the commander-in-chief how much he was satisfied with Lieutenant Bailey's kind and skilful conduct. He then thanked me for my attention to himself, and embracing me *à la Française*, said, "Adieu, Captain! rely on me. Adieu!"[2] He seemed much affected.

In closing this, I may say that I have endeavoured throughout to execute faithfully and zealously the somewhat difficult mission with which I have been charged, but at the same time with that deference and respect for the feelings of Napoleon which have appeared to me no less due to his misfortunes than to his exalted station and splendid talents.

[1] Bonaparte in the campaigns of 1794, 1796, frequently made use of the bay of Vado.—J. H. R.

[2] "Adieu, Capitaine, comptez sur moi. Adieu!"

LIST OF PERSONS ACCOMPANYING THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

General Koller	Austrian Envoys.
Comte Clam	
Colonel Campbell	English Envoy.
Comte Bertrand	Grand Marshal of the Palace.
Comte Drouot	General of Division and A.D.C. to the Emperor.
Baron Germanowki	Major of the L. H. Guards.
Chevalier Foureau	First Physician to the Emperor
Chevalier Baillon	Grooms of the Bedchamber.
Chevalier Deschamps... ...	
Chevalier Pérusse	Treasurer.
M. Gatte	Apothecary.
M. Callin	Comptroller to the Household
M. Rothery...	Secretary to the Grand Marshal.
M. Gueval	Clerk to the Comptroller.
M. Pelard	Valets de Chambre.
M. Hubert	
M. Sotain	Master of the Ceremonies.
M. Purron	Officer of the Ceremonies.
M. Rousset...	Chief Cook.
M. Lafosse	Chief Baker.
M. Gaillard...	Valets.
M. Archambault...	
M. Poillett	
M. Berthault	
M. Villenaine	
Dennis	Keeper of the wardrobe.
Gandron	Domestics.
Mathiers	
Rousseau	
Armaudrau	Rider.
Noverve	Body-servant.

Besson...	}	Grooms of the State.
Renaud		
Chauvin	}	Couriers.
Sentini...		

NOTE.—When Colonel Campbell arrived at Marseilles on April 25, he informed me that, having been appointed by Lord Castlereagh to accompany Napoleon to Elba, he arrived at Fontainebleau on the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning. He met there Comte Bertrand, who expressed the Emperor's anxiety to proceed to his destination, and his wish to change the place of embarkation from St. Tropez to Piombino, as there could be no certainty of his being received by the commandant of Elba, and by going to Piombino that would be previously ascertained. If refused, he might be driven off the island by tempest while waiting permission to land. He expressed the hope that Colonel Campbell would remain at Elba until his affairs were settled; otherwise an Algerine corsair might land and do what he pleased. He seemed much satisfied when Colonel Campbell told him that he had Lord Castlereagh's instructions to remain there for some time, if necessary for the security of Napoleon. After breakfast Comte Flahaut informed the commissioners that

the Emperor would see them after he had attended mass. The commissioners were introduced in the following order: Russian guard, Prince Schoovalof, who remained five minutes; Austrian general, Baron Koller, the same time; Comte Truxo, Colonel Campbell, quarter of an hour. Napoleon asked Campbell about his wounds and service, where his family resided, and seemed very affable. Colonel Campbell received from Paris a copy of the order from General Dupont,[1] Minister of War, to the commandant at Elba, to give up the island to Napoleon, taking away the guns, stores, &c. This displeased Napoleon exceedingly; he had a conversation with General Koller on the subject, and requested him to send his aide-de-camp with a note relating to it to Paris, wishing to know how he was to protect himself against any corsair, and saying that if this conduct was continued he would go to England. A note was presented to the commissioners by Comte Bertrand, who added verbally that the Emperor would not disembark unless the guns were left for security and defence.

[1] General Dupont incurred Napoleon's lasting displeasure by surrendering at Baylen in Andalusia with some 23,000 French troops (July 19, 1808). In 1814 he went over to the Bourbon cause.—J. H. R.

April 20.—The horses were ordered at 9 a.m. The Emperor desired to see General Koller. He spoke warmly against the separation from his wife and child, also of the order for withdrawing the guns from Elba, saying he had nothing to do with the provisional Government; his treaty was with the allied sovereigns, and to them he looked for every act. He was not yet destitute of means to continue the war, but it was not his wish to do so. General Koller endeavoured to persuade him that the treaty would be fulfilled with honour. He then sent for Colonel Campbell, and began a conversation similar to the one on the 16th, speaking of service, wounds, &c., the system and discipline of the British army, necessity of corporal punishment, though he thought it should seldom be applied. He was much satisfied at Lord Castlereagh's placing a British man-of-war at his disposal, if he wished it, for convoy or passage, and complimented the nation. He then said he was ready. The Duke of Bassano, General Belliard, Arnano, and four or five others (his aides-de-camp), with about twenty other officers, were in the ante-chamber. On entering the first room there were only General Belliard and Arnano; an aide-de-camp suddenly shut the door, so it

is presumed he was taking a particular leave of them; the door then opened, and the aide-de-camp called out, "The Emperor." He passed with a salute and smile, descended into the court, addressed his guards, embraced General Petit and the colours, entered his carriage and drove off.

April 21.—Slept at Brienne in a large hotel, a good supper being provided.[1] The Emperor supped with General Bertrand.

April 22.—Slept at Nevers. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" In the morning he sent for Colonel Campbell. The table was laid; so he desired the servant to lay another cover, and invited the Colonel to stay and breakfast. General Bertrand also joined them. Napoleon asked Colonel Campbell who commanded in the Mediterranean. He said he did not know for certain, but believed Sir Sidney Smith was one of the admirals. When Comte Bertrand sat down, he said, laughing, "Que pensez-vous, Sidney Smith amiral dans la Mediterranée!"[2] He then related Smith's having thrown several

[1] "Brienne" should be "Briare," a town on the Loire, halfway from Fontainebleau to Nevers. Brienne is in Champagne.—J. H. R.

[2] "What do you think, Sidney Smith admiral in the Mediterranean!"

thousand shot from his ships on them without killing a man (this was at Acre). It was his great source, for he paid much for every shot brought in by the men. "Il m' envoya des parlementaires comme un second Marlborough." [1]

April 23.—Before the journey this morning, he requested Colonel Campbell to go on, in order to expedite the British man-of-war, and also to write to Admiral Emeriau at Toulon to expedite the French corvette. He sent off to Auxerre to order his heavy baggage, with the escort of six hundred guards and horses, to go by land to Piombino; but if that was objected to, to go by Lyons, and to drop down the Rhone. Colonel Campbell proceeded on by Lyons and Aix, when he learned that I was at anchor in the bay of Marseilles, where he arrived the evening of the 25th. The morning of the 20th the commissioners communicated to Comte Bertrand the facilities which had been obtained in regard to the several difficulties presented respecting a director of posts for the horses, and a British man-of-war for convoy or conveyance, and a copy of the order given by General Dupont.

[1] "He sent me parlementaires like a second Marlborough." ("Parlementaire" means "the bearer of a flag of truce."

After the formation of the provisional Government, a person was asked by Napoleon what he thought of his situation, and whether he thought there were any measures to be taken. He replied in the negative. Napoleon asked what he would do in a similar situation; his questioner said he would blow out his brains. The Emperor reflected a moment. "Oui, je puis faire cela, mais ceux qui me veulent du bien ne pourraient pas en profiter, et ceux qui me veulent du mal, cela leur ferait plaisir." [1]

NOTE BY BIRGE HARRISON.

It occurred to me that as I was residing temporarily in Fréjus, it might be of interest to inquire if any eye-witnesses of the event were still living in the neighbourhood. Such a person I found in M. Coulis, a gentleman ninety-three years old, but unusually intelligent and lucid in conversation. As his account differs slightly from that given by Admiral Ussher, it may be worth while to put it on record.

A slight temporary jetty had been erected at the beach for the occasion, and among those gathered near it were he and his father. It was about half-past seven of a bright moonlight

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[1] "Yes, I can do that, but those who wish me well could not profit by it, and those who wish me harm would be pleased."

If this is correct, it helps to discredit the story told by Napoleon's valet, Constant, that his master tried to poison himself at Fontainebleau on April 12 or 13.—J. H. R.

evening when the imperial party arrived upon the beach—so bright indeed that the Emperor's peculiarly vivid smile was apparent to all as he advanced from his carriage toward the boat which was awaiting him. Just as he put foot upon the jetty, however, his countenance darkened somewhat, and, turning to the prefect of the Department of the Var, who was standing by, the Emperor remarked:

"This is still another deception. But I should have expected as much." ("Voici encore une déception. Mais j'aurai du m'attendre à cela.")

In reply to my query as to what had provoked this parting shot at a former official, M. Coulis said that he supposed it referred to his desertion by the French corvette *Victorieuse*, which was to accompany him to Elba and to remain permanently in his service, but which had sailed out of the bay the preceding afternoon upon learning that the Emperor was to go to Elba in an English ship.

Admiral Ussher makes a curious topographical error when he states that Fréjus "lies on a height three or four miles from the anchorage." In point of fact, the town is separated from the beach by a scant three-quarters of a mile of barren sand-dunes.

FRÉJUS, VAR, FRANCE.

Cockburn was appointed by the Government to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena, which had been selected as the spot of all others most likely to secure him against returning to Europe. The *Northumberland*, Captain C. B. H. Ross, which ship was in the Medway, was hurried round to Portsmouth with all possible expedition. She arrived there on the 31st, when the utmost exertions were made to complete her for foreign service.

August 2–5.—On this day Sir George Cockburn arrived at Portsmouth, and on the afternoon of the third, notwithstanding the ship was in the greatest possible state of confusion (from the hurried manner in which stores of every description had been put on board), we sailed from Spithead, with the *Bucephalus* and *Ceylon*, troop-ships having on board the second battalion of the 53rd Regiment, commanded by Colonel Sir George Bingham.[1] A company of artillery, com-

[1] The fact that "stores of every description" were put on board shows that the ship must have had a supply of fresh water. Some of the Frenchmen afterwards complained that all the water on board was stale and had been to India and back.

A diary kept by Sir George Bingham, K.C.B., on board the *Northumberland*, and at St. Helena has been published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, October, November, 1896, as also in *Cornhill* of January, February, 1901. It corroborates Glover's "Journal" at several points.—J. H. R.

Enfin Bonaparte metamorphosé
en Imperial Descente en Angleterre

UNIV. OF MICH.

CONTEMPORARY FRENCH CARICATURE ON THE END OF NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF ENGLAND SCHEMES.

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manded by Captain Greatly, was also on board the *Northumberland*. We had calm weather with light airs occasionally, which greatly enabled the ship being put somewhat to rights.

August 6.—About noon, when off Berry Head, we discovered a squadron which proved to be the *Tonnant*, having the flag of Lord Keith, commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet; the *Bellerophon* (having on board Napoleon Bonaparte and his suite); and the *Eurotas* frigate. Sir George Cockburn went on board the *Tonnant* when the squadron anchored to the westward of Berry Head. On communicating with the *Tonnant*, we found that Lord Keith had sailed suddenly with his squadron from Plymouth to prevent any difficulty or unpleasant consequences in removing Bonaparte to the *Northumberland*, it being understood that a writ of *habeas corpus*, or subpœna, had been taken out to remove him to London, to appear as evidence at some trial, in consequence of which it was determined that this ex-emperor should be removed at sea.[1]

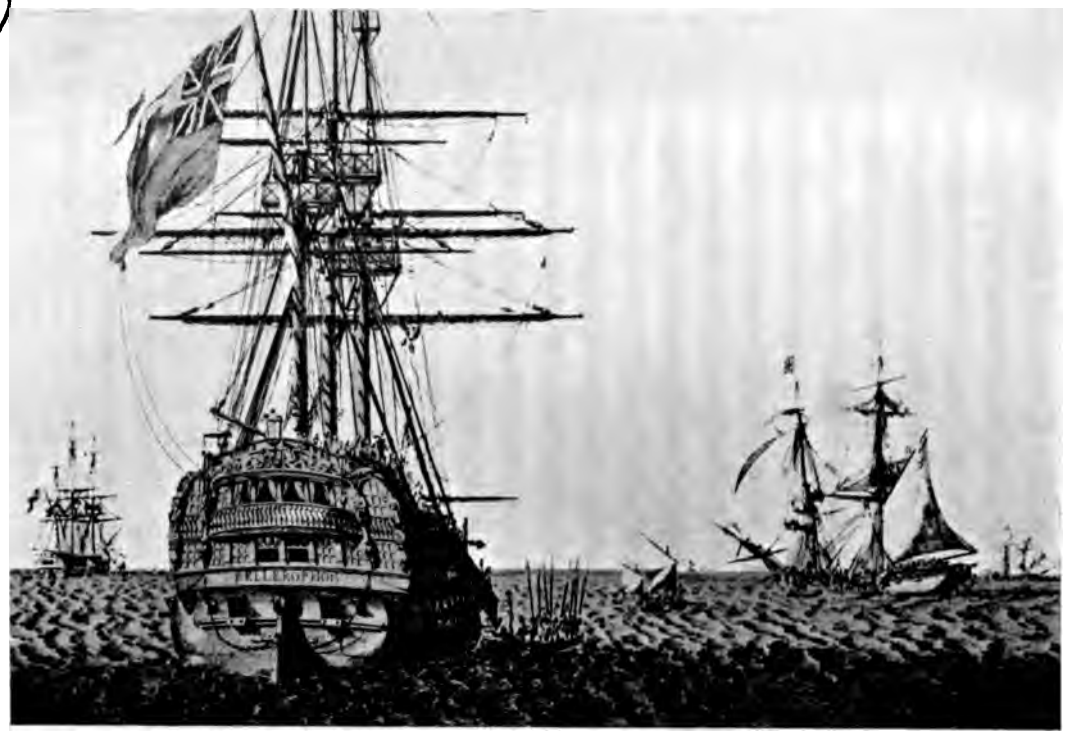
[1] This affair of the subpœna seems to have arisen out of an article in the leading Opposition paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, in which a Mr. Capel Lofft stated that Bonaparte, having appealed to the laws of Great Britain, might demand from the Lord Chancellor a writ of *habeas corpus*. Some one then suggested the bringing of a libel suit in London

During the afternoon a conference was held by Lord Keith, Sir George Cockburn, and Maréchal Bertrand, relative to the transhipment of the French party; and after dinner Lord Keith, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, went on board the *Bellerophon* to make known to Bonaparte that it was necessary to remove him to the *Northumberland* as quickly as possible and convenient, for the purpose of being conveyed to St. Helena. Bonaparte protested strenuously against this procedure, and the right of the British Government thus to dispose of him.[1] Sir George, however, contented himself by observing that as a military officer he must obey his instructions, and therefore expressed a hope that he (Bonaparte) would be ready to move the next day with such of his followers as it was determined were to accompany him.

August 7.—After breakfast Sir George Cock-

against a naval officer, in which Napoleon was to be called as a witness. A lawyer then started for Plymouth and gave some trouble to Lord Keith, who, however, successfully dodged him. See "Narrative of Captain Maitland," pp. 161–169, new edit., London, 1904; with an excellent note on the futility of the *habeas corpus* device.—J. H. R.

[1] For his protest, see Allardyce's "Memoirs of Lord Keith," also "Napoleonic Studies," by J. H. Rose, pp. 319–321.—J. H. R.



EMBARCATION OF BONAPARTE ON BOARD THE "BELLEROPHON."

burn went again on board the *Bellerophon* to examine the baggage of Bonaparte and his followers, at which they were excessively indignant. Nevertheless everything was inspected. but no one of the French officers would attend. All the arms were delivered up, and 4,000 napoleons were detained by Sir George Cockburn, and delivered to Captain Maitland to be forwarded to the treasury; after which the luggage was transhipped, and every necessary arrangement made. About two o'clock Bonaparte came on board the *Northumberland*, accompanied by Lord Keith. On coming on deck he said to Sir George Cockburn (in French), "Here I am, General, at your orders." He then begged to be introduced to the captain, and asked the names of the different officers on deck, to what regiments they belonged, and other questions of trifling import. He then, with Sir George Cockburn, Lord Keith, and some of his followers, went into the after cabin, where he was left. The following persons were allowed to follow Bonaparte into exile, and came at the same time with him from the *Bellerophon*, viz., General Comte de Bertrand, grand marshal of the palace; General de Montholon; General Gourgaud; Comte Las Cases, and his son, about

thirteen years of age; Comtesse de Bertrand, with three children; Comtesse de Montholon, with one child; three valets de chambre; three valets de pied: a maître d'hôtel; a chef d'office; a cook; a porter; a lamp-lighter (*lampiste*); and a male servant of Maréchal Bertrand's. The following persons were allowed to come on board from the *Eurotas* frigate to take their final leave of Bonaparte, viz., Lieutenant-Colonel Resigny. Lieutenant-Colonel Schultz, Le Chef d'Escadre Mercher, Captain Autrié, Captain Rivière, Captain St. Catherine, Captain Piontkowski, and Lieutenant-Colonel Plaisir, the major part of whom appeared affected on quitting their quondam master, most particularly Piontkowski, who, after using every entreaty in vain to be allowed to accompany Bonaparte, solicited most earnestly to be allowed to become a servant. But this was also refused, and they all returned.[1]

The admiral after this went into the after cabin with some of the officers, and, finding Bonaparte

[1] The list given on pp. 137, 138 is fuller, but it includes the names of several who were not allowed to proceed to St. Helena. See note p. 139. Piontkowski was afterwards allowed to go to St. Helena (Captain Maitland, "Narrative," *ad fin.*).—J. H. R.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

From an original oil sketch by Sir Charles Eastlake, taken from a boat as Napoleon was standing on the deck of the "Bellerophon."

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seemed to assume an exclusive right to this cabin, he desired Maréchal Bertrand to explain that the after cabin must be considered as common to us all, and that the sleeping-cabin could alone be considered as exclusively his. Bonaparte received this intimation with submission and apparent good humour, and soon after went on deck, where he remained a considerable time, asking various questions of each officer of trifling import. He particularly asked Sir George Bingham and Captain Greatly to what regiments they belonged, and when told that Captain Greatly belonged to the artillery, he replied quickly, "I also belonged to the artillery." After conversing on deck for some time, this ex-emperor retired to the cabin allotted him as a sleeping-cabin, which is about nine feet wide and twelve feet long, with a narrow passage leading to the quarter-gallery. The admiral had a similar sleeping-cabin on the opposite side. The after cabin is our general sitting-room and the fore cabin our mess-room; the others of the party are accommodated below by the captain and some of the officers giving up their cabins, and by building others on the main deck. Thus this man, who but a short time since kept nations in dread, and had thousands

at his nod, has descended from the emperor to the general with a flexibility of mind more easily to be imagined than described. He is henceforth to be styled general, and by directions from our Government he is to have the same honours and respect paid him as a British general not in employ.[1]

Our mess now consists of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn; C. B. H. Ross, captain of the *Northumberland;* Mr. J. R. Glover, secretary to Sir George Cockburn; Sir George R. Bingham, colonel of the 53rd Regiment (a passenger); General Bonaparte; Maréchal Bertrand;[2] Major-Generals de Montholon and Gourgaud; Le Comte de Las Cases; and Mesdames Montholon and Bertrand. At 6 p.m. dinner was announced, when we all sat down in apparent good spirits, and our actions declared our appetites fully equal to those spirits. General Bonaparte ate of every dish at table, using his fingers instead of a fork, seeming to prefer the rich dishes to the plain

[1] The allied Governments, after Napoleon's escape from Elba, proscribed him, and, of course, refused to grant to him the imperial title which was accorded to him at Elba.—J. H. R.

[2] Bertrand was a general of the army, but he kept the title of Grand Marshal of the Palace.—J. H. R.

dressed food, and not even tasting vegetables. Claret was his beverage, which he drank out of a tumbler, keeping the bottle before him. He conversed the whole of dinner-time, confining his conversation principally to the admiral, with whom he talked over the whole of the Russian campaign, and attributed the failure of it in the first instance to the burning of Moscow, in the next to the frost setting in much sooner than was expected. He said he meant only to have refreshed his troops for four or five days, and then to have pushed on for St. Petersburg; but finding all his plans frustrated by the burning of Moscow, and his army likely to perish, he hurried back to Paris, setting out with a chosen body-guard, one half of which was frozen to death the first night.[1] He said nothing could be more horrible than the retreat from Moscow, and indeed the whole of the Russian campaign; that for several days together it appeared to him as if he were marching through a sea of fire, owing to the constant succession of villages in

[1] All this is put very loosely. He set out from Moscow on October 19. The season was much more open than usual. Cold weather did not set in till November 7; and no heavy losses were sustained till severer weather set in in December.—J. H. R.

flames, which arose in every direction as far as the eye could reach. He said the burning of these villages, as well as of Moscow, was attributed to his troops, but that it was invariably done by the natives.[1] After dinner he did not drink wine, but he took a glass of noyau after his coffee, previous to rising from table. After dinner he walked the deck, conversing principally with the admiral, and to whom he said, during this conversation, that previous to his going to Elba he had made preparations for having a navy of a hundred sail of the line;[2] that he had established a conscription for the navy; and that the Toulon fleet was entirely manned and brought forward by people of this description; that he had ordered them positively to get under way and manœuvre every day the weather would permit, and to occasionally exchange long shots with our ships; that this had been remonstrated against by those about him, and it had cost him much money to repair the accidents which occurred from the want of maritime knowledge, such as ships getting foul

[1] It is now known that the fires at Moscow and elsewhere were due largely to the plundering of French and Polish troops.—J. H. R.

[2] See his assertion on p. 88.

of each other, splitting their sails, springing their masts, &c.; but he found this tended to improve the crews, and he determined to persevere in his plan. After walking for some time, he proposed a round game of cards, in compliance with which the admiral, Sir George Bingham, Captain Ross, and myself assembled with General Bonaparte and his followers in the after cabin, where we played at *vingt-un* [*sic*] (which was the game chosen by the ex-emperor) till nearly eleven o'clock, when we all retired to our beds.

Could any person ignorant of the events which had so lately occurred have witnessed the group at cards, he never could possibly have imagined that it consisted of a fallen emperor, a fallen marshal, two fallen generals, an ex-count, two ex-countesses, an English admiral (guardian of the fallen), and an English colonel, captain, and secretary in office; nor could he have distinguished any difference in the countenances of those fallen and those in the plenitude of their power.

As the ship had not been fitted for so many passengers, there was difficulty in providing them with adequate room and accommodation, as each asked and expected a separate apartment. The

general was provided as before mentioned, Captain Ross gave up his cabin to Marshal and Madame Bertrand, I gave up mine to General and Madame Montholon, and it was arranged that General Gourgaud and Count Las Cases were to sleep on sofa-beds in the after cabin, until cabins could be built for them between decks.

August 8.—The weather unpleasant; wind from north-east, with much swell. We lay to most of this day off Plymouth, waiting to be joined by the squadron destined to accompany us. The *Havannah*, *Zenobia*, and *Peruvian* joined during the day. The last was despatched to Guernsey to procure French wines, and rejoin us at Madeira. Owing to the swell and consequent motion, but few of our guests were able to come to table, and the general did not make his appearance during the day.

August 9.—The *Zephyr*, *Icarus*, *Redpole*, and *Ferret* joined from Plymouth, which completed our destined squadron (except the *Weymouth*, store-ship). We proceeded down Channel with a fresh wind from the north-west and much swell. The ex-emperor made his first appearance this day about two o'clock, and after walking a short time on deck he went into the after cabin, where he played at chess until dinner was announced.

BONAPARTE ON BOARD THE BELLEROPHON OFF PLYMOUTH.

Face page 126.

During the first part of the dinner he was very reserved; but after taking a few glasses of wine, he threw off that reserve and conversed freely, but chiefly with the admiral, of whom he made many and particular inquiries relative to India and the state of our forces there. He said that formerly he had corresponded with Tippoo Saib, and on going to Egypt he entertained hopes of reaching India;[1] but the removal of the vizir, and the change of politics with the Ottoman Porte, with other circumstances, had frustrated his hopes and prevented him pursuing that career which he had at first contemplated. He sat but a short time at dinner, and then went on deck, where he walked, keeping his hat off and looking round steadfastly and rather sternly to see if the British officers did the same. However, as the admiral, after saluting the deck, put his hat on, the officers did the same (the admiral having previously desired that the officers should not be uncovered), and thus not a British head was uncovered, at which he was evidently piqued, and soon retired to the after cabin. His followers were constantly uncovered in his presence, and watched his every

[1] It is certain that he kept his gaze mainly on French politics, and would not have gone so far as India. See his words on p. 215.—J. H. R.

motion with obsequious attention. About 8 p.m., General Gourgaud begged of us to join the *vingt-un* party, which the admiral, Sir George Bingham, Captain Ross, and myself did, and played until about half-past nine, when Bonaparte retired to bed. During this evening he talked but little and appeared sulky; however, this produced no alteration in our manners toward him, neither was he paid more respect than any other officer present. This afternoon the *Zenobia* was despatched to put letters into the post-office at Falmouth, off which place we were.

August 10.—The weather moderate; the wind to the westward, with considerable swell from that quarter. As soon as the *Zenobia* rejoined, we made sail on the starboard tack. Our passengers, with the exception of the general, were all assembled at the second breakfast about half-past ten. This meal consisted of soup, roasted meat, a haricot, marmalade, with porter and claret as a beverage (which, I understand, is the constant breakfast of the general), the ladies, and even the children, drinking both porter and wine with water. Between two and three Bonaparte made his appearance on deck, asking various questions as to the names of the vessels with us, the probable time of our voyage to Madeira, &c.

His fellow-prisoners are ever uncovered in his presence, and in speaking to him invariably address him either "Sire" or "Votre Majesté," but the admiral as well as the officers at all times address him as general. However, the difficulty of repressing the inclination to pay him marked attention is evident, and the curiosity of both officers and men in watching his actions is very easily perceived. About four o'clock he retired to the after cabin, where he played at chess with General Montholon until dinner-time. He appeared to play but badly, and certainly very much inferior to his antagonist, who nevertheless was determined not to win the game from his ex-majesty.[1] At dinner he ate heartily of every dish, his fork remaining useless, whilst his fingers were busily employed. During dinner, in conversation with the admiral relative to our contests with America, he said Mr. Madison was too late in declaring war; that he had never made any requisition to France for assistance; but that he (Bonaparte) would very readily have lent any number of ships of the line Mr. Madison might have wished for, if American seamen could have been sent to man them and

[1] Impatience of rules made Napoleon play poorly at all games. See p. 206.—J. H. R.

carry them to America, but that, the affairs of France beginning to go wrong about that period, it was out of his power to afford any material assistance to the American Government.[1] During the dinner he drank very heartily of claret out of a tumbler, but nothing after dinner except a glass of noyau. When coffee was served, he swallowed his hastily, and got up from table before many of us were even served, and went on deck, followed by Maréchal Bertrand and Comte Las Cases. This induced the admiral to desire the remainder of the party not to quit the table, and directed the steward in future to serve coffee to the general, and such of his followers as chose to take it, immediately after the cloth was removed, whilst we would continue at table and drink our wine.

Bonaparte walked the deck, asking various trifling questions, until nearly dark, when our *vingt-un* party was again formed. The general was again unlucky, losing ten or twelve napoleons, but with perfect good humour. About half-past nine he retired to his sleeping-cabin. General Gourgaud (who was one of the general's aides-de-camp at the battle of Waterloo), in conversation with the admiral, said that during that battle, when the Prussians appeared, General Bonaparte

[1] That is, against Great Britain in 1812.—J. H. R.

believed them to have been General Grouchy's division, he having left between 30,000 and 40,000 men with that general under orders to advance (in the direction from which the Prussians came) if from the firing heard General Grouchy should have reason to suppose the day was obstinately contested by the English; and this he said induced Bonaparte to persist in his efforts so long, and occasioned (when it was discovered that there was nothing but Prussians on the French flank) so general and complete a rout.[1] He said Bonaparte was forced off the ground by Soult, and he proceeded as quickly as possible afterward to Paris; but so great were the panic and disorder among the French soldiers that many of them, without arms or accoutrements, actually arrived in Paris, some behind carriages, and others in carts, &c., on the same day with the general and his attendants, not having halted once from the moment of their quitting the field, and reporting everywhere as they passed that all was lost. Our latitude to-day at noon was 49° 41′ N.

[1] Gourgaud was wrong. Napoleon knew by 2 p.m. that the corps approaching from the east was Prussian, but he counted on Grouchy marching after them and taking them between two fires. See p. 147.—J. H. R.

August 11.—The weather bad and squally, with an unpleasant swell and wind from the north-west. Our guests were all sea-sick, and General Gourgaud was the only one able to sit at table. Bonaparte did not quit his cabin the whole day. Maréchal Bertrand, in a conversation relative to General Bonaparte's return, stated it was actuated by what the papers mentioned of the distracted state of France, and that he was received everywhere as a father returning to his children. Our latitude to-day was 48° 48′ N., longitude 5° 58′ W.

August 12.—The weather moderate; wind to the westward, with much swell, which caused so unpleasant a motion as to prevent our female guests from assembling at the breakfast-table. About three o'clock Bonaparte made his appearance upon deck; but owing to the motion, he found it difficult to walk. However, with the help of Sir George Bingham's arm, he walked for about half an hour, asking commonplace questions, and pitying those on board the brigs in company, which seemed to roll and pitch very much. General Montholon, Comte Las Cases, and the two ladies complained much of sea-sickness; nevertheless, we all assembled at five o'clock at dinner, except General Montholon.

Bonaparte was more silent than usual, and did not eat so heartily, apparently affected by the motion. After dinner he walked a considerable time with the admiral, in earnest conversation. About eight we adjourned to the after cabin, and played the usual game of *vingt-un* until near ten. The admiral told me that in the conversation with the general this evening, in speaking of Ferdinand of Spain, he (the general) considered him both a fool and a coward, that he was perfectly under the dominion of priesthood, and was merely a passive instrument in the hands of the monks. He added that he looked on King Charles of Spain as an honest, good man, but that he had lost everything by his attachment to a bad wife. Among other things he mentioned that Baron de Kolly, who was sent by the British Government to bring off Ferdinand, was first discovered by his endeavouring to gain some person to his interest in Paris, and also from suspicion excited by the command of money which he appeared to possess; that upon his being arrested all his papers were discovered, and then it was determined to send off a police officer from Paris to personate Kolly at Valençay, to deliver the Prince Regent's letter, and to assure Ferdinand that everything was prepared for his

escape, purposely to prove how he would act under such circumstances; but in spite of everything this sham Kolly could urge (and Bonaparte added that he was a clever fellow), Ferdinand's courage was not equal to the undertaking, and he obstinately refused to have anything to do with the supposed agent of Great Britain.[1] The general said that until Kolly was discovered at Paris, the French Government had no idea of our attempting to carry off Ferdinand; but, however, he was quite convinced, had Kolly not been discovered, the pusillanimity of Ferdinand would have prevented all possibility of our success. Our latitude this day at noon was 46° 30′ N., and longitude 8° 2′ W.

August 13.—The weather very fine, with calms. Napoleon has hitherto breakfasted in his cabin. Our other guests were all assembled at the second breakfast, and it was evident from their appetites that they had forgot their sea-sickness. During the forenoon Madame Bertrand expressed great regret at having undertaken the voyage; she also expressed hopes that Maréchal

[1] Baron de Kolly's plan failed owing to the treason of a subordinate. The scheme of the sham Kolly was seen through by Ferdinand himself. See Alison, "History of Europe," ch. lxv.—J. H. R.

Bertrand and herself would be allowed to return to England in the course of twelve months.[1] Between two and three the general came on deck, and walked until nearly dinner-time. He made many inquiries relative to a French merchant brig spoken by one of the squadron, which was fourteen days from Havre. He seemed anxious to know how long we should be in reaching Madeira, and whether we were likely to remain there. At dinner the Rev. George Rennell, chaplain of the ship, who had been invited to dine with us, happening to sit opposite the general, the latter observed him with peculiar attention, and during the whole of the dinner-time he was completely occupied in asking questions relative to the Protestant religion—asking what were the forms of our church service; whether we used music; whether we used extreme unction; whether we prayed for the dead; how many sacraments we had, and how often the sacrament was performed; whether our religion was similar to either the Calvinist or Lutheran; whether length of time was necessary to study, and how long so before a clergyman could be ordained;

[1] She induced General Bertrand, when signing for permission to go to St. Helena, to stipulate that it should be for only twelve months.—J. H. R.

how many different sects of dissenters we had in England; whether we believed in transubstantiation—in fact, he asked almost every possible question. He also asked Mr. Rennell whether he had ever seen the Roman Catholic worship performed; and being answered in the affirmative (in Spain), he said, "Ah, there you would see it with every pompous effect." After dinner he walked until nearly dark, when he retired to the after cabin. I went in shortly after, and, on taking up one of his books, of which he has a very good collection, he asked me if I had ever read Ossian.[1] I replied I had in English, when he said, "I do not know what it is in English, but it is very fine in French," and immediately offered me the book he had in his hand, and which was Ossian. After conversing a few minutes, he asked, "What is the hour?" and being told it was eight, he said, "It is time to play at *vingt-un*." Madame Bertrand, seeing that I appeared somewhat surprised, it being Sunday evening, said, "Do you never play cards on Sunday?" I replied it was not customary. Bonaparte said, "Why, the upper circles in London play cards on Sunday," to which I

[1] Macpherson (the supposed Ossian) was Napoleon's favourite poet.—J. H. R.

assented. He then said, "The admiral, I suppose, will not dislike it. Send for him and the colonel" (meaning Sir George Bingham). Cards were produced, and we played for about an hour (but neither the admiral nor Sir George Bingham joined the party), when Bonaparte went to bed. Our latitude at noon was 45° 42′ N., longitude 8° 10′ W.

August 14.—Light winds, with a continuation of fine weather. Bonaparte, as usual, breakfasted in his cabin. He walked the deck both before and after dinner, and spent the evening playing at *vingt-un*; but nothing occurred in his conversation worthy of notice. Both he and the admiral appeared distant to each other. Madame Bertrand during the day made many anxious inquiries as to whether the English ministry would allow her and the maréchal to return to England. To-day, in a conversation with Mr. Barry O'Meara, late surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, who was permitted by Lord Keith, at the request of General Bonaparte, to accompany him to St. Helena (and who is now considered one of the general's suite), he told me that on July 15 the following persons quitted France with Bonaparte.[1]

[1] GÉNÉRAUX.—Le Lieutenant Général Comte Bertrand, grand maréchal; le Lieutenant-Général Duc de Rovigo; le

To-day at noon our latitude was 45° 13′ N., and longitude 90° 5′ W. We had still light airs, with the wind to the westward, and with much less swell than usual.

August 15.—This being Bonaparte's birthday, all his followers appeared dressed in their best. He walked as usual before dinner, and appeared particularly cheerful. He asked numerous questions relative to the Cape of Good Hope;

Lieutenant-Général Baron Lallemand (refused permission to go), A.D.C. à sa Majesté; le Lieutenant-Général Baron Gourgaud, A.D.C. à sa Majesté; Le Comte Las Cases, conseiller d'état.

DAMES.—Madame la Comtesse Bertrand; Madame la Comtesse Montholon.

OFFICIERS.—Lieutenant-Colonel De Planat; M. Maingaut, chirurgien de sa Majesté. Mr. Barry O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, accompanies the general as his surgeon in lieu of M. Maingaut, who was re-landed in France.

ENFANTS.—Three children of Madame la Comtesse Bertrand; one child of Madame la Comtesse Montholon.

OFFICIER.—M. Las Cases, page.

SERVICE DE LA CHAMBRE.—M. Marchand, 1st valet de chambre; M. Gilli, valet de chambre; M. St. Denis, valet de chambre; M. Navarra, valet de chambre; M. Denis, garçon de garde-robe.

LIVRÉE.—M. Archambaud, 1st valet de pied; M. Gaudron, valet de pied; M. Gentilini, valet de pied.

SERVICE DE LA BOUCHE.—M. Fontain, 1st maître d'hôtel; M. Freron, 1st chef d'office; M. La Fosse, 1st cuisinier; M. Le Page, cuisinier; two femmes de chambre de Madame

as to the colour of the natives; their disposition; what inland traffic was carried on; how far the interior had been explored. During the dinner he reverted to his northern campaign, saying had he succeeded in that, he seriously intended to have invaded Great Britain. At dinner we all drank his health in compliment to his birth-

la Comtesse Bertrand; one femme de chambre de Madame la Comtesse de Montholon.

SUITE DE PERSONNES QUI ACCOMPAGNENT SA MAJESTÉ.—One valet de chambre du Duc de Rovigo; one valet de chambre du Comte Bertrand; one valet de chambre du Comte Montholon; one valet de pied du Comte Bertrand. The foregoing went on board the *Bellerophon*.

OFFICIERS.—Le Lieutenant-Colonel Resigny; Capitaine Autrié; Capitaine Piontkowski; Sous-Lieutenant St. Catherine; Lieutenant-Colonel Schultz; Capitaine Mercher; Lieutenant Rivière.

SUITE DE SA MAJESTÉ. — Cipriani, maître d'hôtel; Rosseau, lampiste; Archambaud, valet de pied; Liviany, garde d'office; Fumeau, valet de pied. The above on board the *Myrmidon*.

N.B.—The names were copied from the original French list on board the *Bellerophon*. General Gourgaud, one of the first mentioned, went to England with a letter to the Prince Regent; but, not being permitted to land, he returned on board the *Bellerophon* when that ship arrived in Torbay.

[Savary, Duc de Rovigo, General Lallemand, Colonel Planat, M. Maingaut, and some of the servants, did not proceed to St. Helena. Twelve valets and servants went thither on board the *Northumberland*. See Captain Maitland's "Narrative" *ad fin.*—J. H. R.]

day, with which civility he seemed much pleased. He walked a considerable time with the admiral after dinner, talking of the invasion of England. He said that when the demonstration was made at Boulogne, he had most perfectly and decidedly made up his mind to it (the invasion); that his putting guns into the praams and the rest of his armed flotilla was only to deceive and endeavour to make us believe he intended to make a descent upon England with their assistance only, whereas he had never intended to make any other use of them than as transports, and entirely depended on his fleets being enabled to deceive ours by the route and manœuvres he intended them to make; and that they would thereby be enabled to get off Boulogne, so as to have a decided superiority in the Channel long enough to insure his making good a landing, for which he said everything was so arranged and prepared that he would have required only twenty-four hours after arriving at the spot fixed on.[1] He said he had 200,000 men for this service, out of which 6,000 were cavalry, which would have been landed with horses and every appointment complete and fit for acting the moment they were put on shore; and that the

[1] See note on p. 89.

praams were particularly intended for carrying over these horses. He said the exact point of debarkation had not been fixed on, as he considered it not material, and only therefore to be determined by the winds and circumstances of the moment; but that he intended to have got as near to Chatham as he conveniently could, to have secured our resources there at once, and to have pushed on to London by that road. He told Sir George Cockburn he had ordered his Mediterranean admiral to proceed with his fleet to Martinique to distract our attention, and draw our fleet after him, and then to exert the utmost efforts to get quickly back to Europe; and looking into Brest (where he had ordered another fleet under Gantheaume to be ready to join him), the whole was to push up Channel to Boulogne, where he (Bonaparte) was to be ready to join them, and to move with them over to our coast at an hour's notice. And in point of fact, he said, he was so ready, his things embarked, and himself anxiously looking for the arrival of his fleets, when he heard of their having returned indeed to Europe; but instead of their coming into the Channel, in conformity with the instructions he had given, they had got to Cadiz, where they were blocked up by the English fleet, with

which they had had a partial engagement off Ferrol, and thus, he said, by the disobedience and want of management of his admirals, he saw in a moment that all his hopes with regard to invading England were frustrated, with this additional disadvantage (which he had fully foreseen when he first turned in his mind the idea of such an attempt), that the preparations at Boulogne had given a stronger military bias to every individual in England, and enabled ministers to make greater efforts than they otherwise perhaps would have been permitted to do. He added that he believed, however, the English administration had entertained great alarms for the issue, if he had got over, as his secret agents at the Russian court reported to him that Great Britain had most pressingly urged that court with Austria to declare war against France for the purpose of averting from England the danger of this threatened invasion, which he said, however, he had given up from the moment he found his fleets had failed.[1] Having then turned his whole

[1] Far from this being so, the British Government insisted on terms (respecting Malta) which were repugnant to the Czar Alexander, with the result that the Anglo-Russian alliance was formed very slowly and with great difficulty.—J. H. R.

attention to his new enemies on the Continent, his force collected at Boulogne enabled him to make the sudden movement which proved fatal to General Mack, and gave him (Bonaparte) all the advantages which followed. In short, the account he gave very much tallied with Goldsmith's relation of the same circumstances as given in his "History of the Cabinet of St. Cloud." [1]

During the conversation Bonaparte told the admiral in a manner not at all suspicious that Admiral Villeneuve decidedly put himself to death, though the general in talking of him seemed very strongly impressed with an idea of that admiral's unpardonable neglect, disobedience, and negligence throughout.[2] He also said that he had ordered Admiral Dumanoir to be tried by a court martial for his conduct at the battle of Trafalgar, and that he had exerted all his influence to have him shot or broke, but that he had been acquitted in spite of him; and he added that when the sentence of acquittal was given, Admiral Cosmao (who was one of the members of the court, and whom he said he decidedly considered

[1] For this Goldsmith, see p. 192.

[2] Villeneuve committed suicide at Rennes on April 22, 1806.—J. H. R.

to be the best sea officer now in France, and whom he had therefore lately created a peer) broke his own sword at the time that of Dumanoir was returned to him, which act Bonaparte seemed most highly pleased with.[1] In the course of the evening he told Sir George that he had prepared a strong expedition at Antwerp, destined to act against Ireland, which he had only been prevented from sending forward by his own affairs taking an unfavourable turn on the Continent. He was in very high spirits this evening, and was very fortunate at *vingt-un*, which seemed to please him the more as it was his birthday. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 43° 51′ N. and 10° 21′ W.

August 16.—Our fine weather continued, with light airs. Bonaparte walked before and after dinner, and was particularly cheerful in conversation, asking a variety of questions relative to St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. He inquired most particularly as to the number of respectable families at St. Helena, the number of ladies there, and how many officers' wives were in the squadron. After dinner to-day he had a long conversation with the admiral, whom

[1] Dumanoir commanded the French van at Trafalgar, and did not "wear about" with sufficient promptness.—J. H. R.

he assured, on his word of honour, that on returning from Elba he had not held communication or correspondence with, nor had he received any invitation from, any of the marshals or generals whatever, and that it was entirely owing to the representations in the public papers of the state of France that he was induced to return, and no longer to hesitate in taking the steps he did.[1] He stated that, on reaching Grenoble, the garrison showed an inclination to resist his progress, but that on his putting himself in front, throwing open his great-coat to show himself more conspicuously, and calling out, "Kill your Emperor if you wish it!" the whole immediately joined, and that afterward he received nothing but congratulations and proofs of attachment all the way to Paris. Maréchal Bertrand related to me the foregoing circumstances in a very similar manner, adding, however, that at first Bonaparte found some difficulty in inducing the officers to espouse his cause, and that many of them, on being sent for by Bonaparte, stated that they had taken the oath of allegiance to Louis XVIII., and consequently that as their troops had deserted them their appointments were null and void, and that they had

[1] Another reason was that he believed the allies in the Congress of Vienna to be on the verge of a rupture.—J. H. R.

acted up to their faith as far as regarded Louis. Bonaparte then asked them if they would accept commissions from him, when there were very few but what replied in the affirmative, and served under his banners. Bertrand also said that as they proceeded towards Paris their forces increased most rapidly; that he felt convinced that Maréchal Ney left Paris with a full intention of opposing Bonaparte, but, finding his army to a man quitting him, he espoused the cause of Bonaparte, and became a strenuous supporter of his. Bonaparte, amongst other things, told the admiral that on his return to Paris from Elba he had paid too much attention to, and had submitted too much to the opinion of, the Jacobin party, which he was now persuaded had not been so requisite as he then conceived it to be; and that had he depended altogether on his own popularity, he should have succeeded better.[1] He said the circumstances of the times compelled him to form his army quickly, and how he could; and in consequence of not having time to examine and weed it, many officers remained in it who had received their appointments from Louis XVIII.,

[1] There were very few Jacobins in France in 1815. Napoleon dubbed the Constitutional Liberals "Jacobins," in order to discredit them.—J. H. R.

"Before and After Waterloo."
A rare Cruickshank caricature.

and who were much disaffected to him, and anxious to betray him. He said many of his officers deserted previous to the battle of Waterloo;[1] and in speaking of the French nation he said that the lower orders of the people were the most sincere, the most firm, and at the same time the best dispositioned in the world; but in the proportion as you rose the class their characters became the worse, and above the bourgeois they were too fickle and too volatile to be at all depended on. They had one principle for to-day and another for to-morrow, according to the circumstances of the moment; and he attributed his Waterloo disasters solely to the disaffected officers of his army. In talking of the battle he assured the admiral he had never for a moment mistook the Prussians for Grouchy's division, but that he knew early in the day that the Prussians were closing on his flank; that this, however, gave him little or no uneasiness, as he depended on General Grouchy also closing with him at the same time, and he had ordered a sufficient force to oppose the Prussians, who were in fact already checked. And he added that he considered the

[1] General Bourmont, with the officers of his division (in Gérard's corps) deserted to the Prussians early on June 15.—J. H. R.

battle throughout the day to be very much in his favour, but that so soon as it was dusk the disaffected officers promulgated the cry of "*Sauve qui peut!*" which spread such confusion and alarm throughout his whole line that it became impossible to counteract it, or to rally his troops, situated as they were. But, he said, had it been daylight an hour longer, he was positive the result would have been very different; he further said that had he been able, when the alarm and confusion first took place, to have placed himself in a conspicuous situation in front, it would have insured the rallying of all his troops around him; but as it was, treachery and darkness combined rendered his ruin inevitable.[1] He said that on the morning of June 18th he did not entertain the most distant idea that the Duke of Wellington would have willingly allowed him to have brought the English army to a decisive battle, and consequently he had been the more anxious to push on, and if possible to force it, considering nothing else could

[1] This is, of course, absurd. A prolongation of daylight would have made the Prussian pursuit even more effective than it was. This whole narration shows the chief cause of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, namely, that he was a victim to his preconceived notions of the state of affairs. He gave battle without taking due thought of Blücher, whom he believed *hors de combat* for some days after Ligny.—J. H. R.

offer him a chance of surmounting the difficulties with which he was surrounded; but, he added, could he have beaten the English army, he was positive scarcely one would have escaped being either killed or taken, in which case the Prussian army (having been already beaten on the 16th) must have made a precipitate retreat, or most probably would have been dispersed, and certainly entirely disorganised. It was his intention then to have pushed on by forced marches to have met the Austrians before any junction could have been made between them and the Russians, which would have placed the game in his own hands, even if hostilities had been obstinately persevered in; though in the state of things he had built on the idea that a victory over the English army in Belgium, with its immediate results, would have been sufficient to have produced a change of administration in England, and have afforded him a chance of concluding an armistice, which he said was really his first object, as he felt that France was not equal to the efforts she was then making, and it was perfectly impossible for her to think of making any adequate resistance against the numerous forces of the allies, if once united and acting in concert against him. He said that things, however, having taken

the turn they did against him, he was compelled to act as he had done, and he felt convinced that Great Britain had not pursued the wisest policy by refusing him an asylum, as he was ready to have pledged his honour, and would have done so, not to have quitted the kingdom, nor to have interfered in any manner directly or indirectly with the affairs of France, or in politics of any sort, unless hereafter requested so to do by our Government; that the influence he had over the minds of the people of every description in France would have enabled him to have kept them quiet under whatever terms it might have been thought necessary for the future security of Europe to impose on France; but that if terms at all repugnant to the vanity of the French nation were acquiesced in by the Bourbons, it would render them more unpopular than they even are at present, and that the people, sooner or later (waiting a favourable crisis), would rise *en masse* for their destruction. He said the disbanding of the French army was of little or no consequence, as the nation was now altogether military, and could always form into an army at any given signal. The admiral, in answer to the observations he had made, said that after the events of latter years, he did not think the Government of

Napoleon, on Board the "Bellerophon."

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Great Britain could be supposed to have sufficient reliance in him (Bonaparte) to have allowed him to take up his residence in England, due reference being had to the present state of affairs in France and to the feelings of the allies on the Continent, however conscious he himself might be of his own integrity and of the sacredness with which he would have observed any stipulations to which he would have pledged his word of honour. The admiral observed that he therefore was surprised at his not retiring in preference to Austria, where his connection with the emperor would have afforded him a strong claim to more distinguished reception and consideration. Bonaparte replied that had he gone to Austria he had no doubt but what he would have been received with every attention, but that he could not bring himself to submit to receive a favour from the Emperor of Austria after the manner in which he had now taken part against him, notwithstanding his former professions of affection, and his close connection with him, which latter, Bonaparte added, had not by any means been sought for by himself. He then gave the following curious relation respecting his marriage with Maria Louise. He said that, when at Erfurth, the Emperor Alexander took an opportunity one day of pressing upon him how

important his having a legitimate heir must prove to the future repose of France and Europe, and Alexander therefore advised his setting aside Josephine, to which if he would consent the emperor offered him in marriage a Russian princess (he believed Princess Anne was named).[1] But Bonaparte said he did not at the moment pay much attention; for, having lived so long with Josephine in such harmony, and having so much reason to be satisfied with her, the idea of causing her pain disinclined him from entering further on the subject; added to which, he said he was already well aware of the falseness of the character of the Emperor Alexander. He therefore merely observed in reply that as he was living on the best possible terms with Josephine, he had never even thought of an arrangement of the nature mentioned by his imperial majesty. However, some time after, when at Paris, being

[1] This is false. Napoleon at Erfurt, in September, 1808 was already contemplating a divorce, and therefore caused overtures to be made indirectly to the Czar Alexander with a view to a marriage alliance with a Russian grand duchess. Alexander waved aside the proposal, and caused his sister Catherine to be at once affianced to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. The Grand Duchess Anne was then only fourteen years of age. See Vandal, "Napoléon et Alexandre," vol. i. pp. 471–2.—J. H. R.

strongly urged by his own friends on the same point, and Josephine having herself assented, he sent to Russia to acquaint Alexander of his wish and readiness to espouse the Russian princess who had been proffered him when at Erfurth. This intimation, he said, the Russian Government received with every outward mark of satisfaction, professing its readiness to accede to the match, but at the same time starting difficulties upon various points, and most particularly with regard to securing the princess the right of exercising her own religion, to which end it was demanded that a Greek chapel might be established for her in the Tuileries. This, Bonaparte said, he did not care about himself; but being a thing so uncustomary, added to other points requested by Russia, much discussion and many difficulties arose with regard to the Russian alliance, when some of his ministers, with Beauharnais, his son-in-law [*sic*], waited on him and pressed the advantage which might result should he consent to ask in marriage an Austrian princess, adding that the Austrian ambassador would readily engage for his court coming into any arrangement he (Bonaparte) might wish for this object. To which he replied, if such was the case, and the affair could be concluded at once, he should

not on his part make objections to this new plan, and would give up the idea of forming a Russian alliance. This being the case, it was instantly agreed upon to take the contract of marriage of Louis XIV. for a guide in arranging his with the Austrian princess; and such was the expedition used that the necessary documents were prepared, signed, and sent off for the approbation of the Emperor of Austria before twelve o'clock that night. The latter acceded without hesitation to everything, and by his manner of forwarding it gave all reason to believe he was not only satisfied, but most highly pleased with the arrangement; and thus Bonaparte said he became the emperor's son-in-law without any other solicitation or intrigue on his part, and without having even once seen Maria Louise until she arrived in France as his wife. He therefore thought the emperor's conduct toward him since his reverses began was not in unison with his conduct or profession toward him in prosperity, or such as he had a right to expect from the father of his wife; and consequently he said he would rather have gone anywhere in his distress, or have done anything, than have placed himself in a situation to have been obliged to ask protection *as a favour* from a prince who he thought had behaved toward

him so unjustly.[1] He finished by saying he had been deceived by the English, but, harshly and unfairly as he considered himself treated by them, yet he found comfort from feeling that he was under the protection of British laws, which he could not have felt had he gone elsewhere, where his fate might have depended on the whim of the individual. He scarcely said anything as to his wish to have escaped to America, although in different conversations with his followers they have implied he was very anxious to get there and to live as a private individual without meddling with politics. He played his game of *vingt-un* as usual, and went to bed about ten o'clock. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 42° 59′ N. and 10° 42′ W.

August 17.—Light winds and pleasant weather. This day the *Peruvian* rejoined us from Guernsey, where she had been sent for French wines. Captain White having brought some French newspapers, they were read with avidity by our guests. At dinner Bonaparte remarked that the *présidents des départements et des arrondissements* appointed by Louis were with very few exceptions the same

[1] This refers to the Emperor Francis. At Plymouth, also, during his interview with Lord Keith as to his destination, Napoleon exclaimed, "Russie! Dieu m'en garde."—J. H. R.

persons that he (Bonaparte) should have appointed had he continued in power. In the evening, when talking of himself, he told the admiral that he had been placed in chief command as a general officer at the age of twenty-four; that he made the conquest of Italy when he was twenty-five;[1] that he had risen from nothing to be sovereign of his country (as consul) at thirty, and that if chance had caused him to be killed the day after he entered Moscow, that his would have been a career of advancement and uninterrupted success without parallel; and he said the very misfortunes which afterwards befell the French army would in such case most probably have tended rather to the advantage than disadvantage of his fame, as, however inevitable they were, they would have been attributed to his loss, rather than to their true cause.

We played our usual game of *vingt-un*, and Bonaparte quitted the table abruptly, and went to bed earlier than usual. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 41° 57′ N. and 11° 11′ W.

August 18.—Moderate weather. Bonaparte renewed his questions to-day relative to the Cape,

[1] These statements give his age as two years less than he was in the autumn of 1795 and of 1796.—J. H. R.

and asked particularly whether any caravans went from thence to Egypt, and whether any person had ever penetrated across the country. In the evening he talked much with the admiral about the Queen of Naples, saying he had had much correspondence with her, as well while she was in Sicily as in Naples; that his general advice to her was to remain quiet, and not interfere with the arrangements of the greater powers of Europe.[1] By letters received from his wife he learned that after the Queen of Naples had returned to Vienna she had taken great notice of, and had been very kind to, his son; and that in a conversation she had with his wife, she had asked her why she did not follow him (Bonaparte) to Elba. Maria Louise answered that she wished to do so, but that her father and mother would not allow her. The Queen of Naples interrogated her as to whether she really liked him, when, being answered in the affirmative, and Maria Louise speaking further in his favour, the queen said to her, "My child, when one has the happiness to

[1] This was Maria Carolina, consort of the Bourbon king, Ferdinand IV. It is known that while in Sicily, under the protection of a British force, she intrigued with the French. Ultimately, Lord William Bentinck had her sent away from the island. She died in Austria on September 7, 1814.—J. H. R.

be married to such a man, papas and mamas should not keep one away from him whilst there are windows and sheets by which an escape to him might be effected."

In the course of the evening he told the admiral he considered the Russians and Poles to be decidedly a braver race of people than all the rest of Europe, except the French and English, and in particular very far superior to the Austrians. He said the Emperor of Austria possessed neither firmness nor stability of character; that the King of Prussia was *un pauvre bête;* that the Emperor Alexander was a more active and clever man than any of the other sovereigns of Europe, but that he was extremely false. He asked the admiral if he was aware that, when in friendship with him at Erfurth, he had signed with him a joint letter to the King of England to require the relinquishing of the right of maritime visitation of neutrals.[1] He said that Russia was much to be feared if Poland was not preserved in

[1] This was on October 12, 1808. The chief demand of the Emperors in their joint note was to obtain from George III. a recognition of the existing boundaries (implicitly) and the abandonment of the Spanish patriots. It contained no reference to the British maritime code. See the note in Vandal's "Napoléon et Alexandre," vol. i. pp. 483–4.—J. H. R.

an independent state, to be a barrier between Russia and the rest of Europe. He added, however, that whatever might be decided on this subject at the congress, he did not think that Russia would succeed in making Poland an appendage to that empire, the Poles being too brave and too determined ever to be brought to submit quietly to what they considered as disgrace and national degradation. Bonaparte spoke in high terms of the King of Saxony, and said he was the only sovereign who had kept faith with him to the last. In the course of conversation he mentioned that the Bourbons were most cordially hated in France, and that nothing but the allied forces could keep them on the throne; that the nation might be quiet for a short time, but that in a few years there would, in his opinion, be a general insurrection. We played as usual at *vingt-un* until near ten, when Bonaparte retired. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 48° 50′ N. and 11° 20′ W.

August 19.—We had light airs and pleasant weather. Our guests were all in good humour. General Gourgaud, who was one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp at the battle of Waterloo, persisted that, whatever Bonaparte might say to the contrary, he did mistake the Prussian army for

General Grouchy's division, and he attributed their disasters in a great measure to that mistake. He boasted much of the exploits of that day; amongst other vauntings he declared that at one time he might have taken the Duke of Wellington a prisoner, but he *desisted* from it, knowing the effusion of blood it would have occasioned.[1]

Bonaparte to-day gave the admiral an amusing account of his being admitted a Mussulman when in Egypt. He said the sheiks and other chiefs there had many consultations on the subject, but at last they admitted him and his followers among the faithful, and with express permission to drink wine, provided that on opening every bottle they would determine to do some good action. Bonaparte requiring an explanation of what was intended by the term good action, the head sheik informed him such as giving charity to people in distress, digging a well in a desert, building a mosque, and such like. He said that had he continued in Egypt, things would not have taken the turn they did; that Kleber was an excellent man and good soldier, but that he did not understand or try to manage[2] the people of the country,

[1] Of course this gasconnade is not to be taken seriously.—J. H. R.

[2] "Manage" is evidently Cockburn's or Glover's translation

and that his assassination was caused by his having beaten one of the principal sheiks, which was considered an indignity to the whole. Bonaparte said that General Menou, who succeeded Kleber, was a brave man, but without abilities. He also stated that the Turks have at different times sent persons to murder him (Bonaparte), but that the people of the country, from his having humoured them, invariably gave him sufficient warning and prevented the assassins getting near him ; whereas he said the man who killed Kleber (who did not attempt to gain the good opinion of the country) was suffered to hide himself in Kleber's garden, and when the general was walking there alone, the assassin sprang upon him unawares, and stabbed him, after which, instead of attempting to escape, he sat down at one end of the garden until he was taken by the general's guard, which was almost immediately after he had perpetrated the deed. However, Maréchal Bertrand, who relates this event in a very similar manner, affirms that the assassin did attempt to escape, and that after a strict search he was found concealed in a well in the garden. Bonaparte, in answer to some

of the French word *ménager*, which is better rendered "humour." Kléber was murdered by a Moslem fanatic on June 14, 1800.—J. H. R.

questions put to him by the admiral, said that if everything had even turned out in Egypt equal to the most sanguine hopes and wishes he entertained on sailing for that country, yet that nevertheless he should have returned as he did, in consequence of the information he received from France.

Bonaparte played at *vingt-un* as usual, and was in uncommon high spirits. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 39° 9′ N. and 11° 26′ W.

August 20.—The weather continued fine, but we had much swell, to which I attributed Bonaparte's not walking before dinner. Divine service was performed, but not one of our guests had the curiosity to witness the ceremony. At dinner Bonaparte asked the clergyman many questions relative to the Protestant religion, and in what it differed from the Roman Catholic. He walked after dinner, and then went direct to his sleeping-cabin without playing at cards. Our latitude and longitude to-day were 37° 19′ N. and 12° 14′ W.

August 21.—Our weather continued much the same. Captain Hamilton of the *Havannah*, and Captain Mansel of the 53rd, dined with us, and Bonaparte, who was in very good spirits, con-

versed more than usual, asking numerous questions on various trifling subjects. We assembled at the card-table earlier than usual, and the game was changed from *vingt-un* to lottery, and we became as noisy a group as ever assembled on such an occasion. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 35° 56′ N. and 13° 16′ W.

August 22.—We got the north-east wind which usually prevails in these latitudes, with fine weather. Bonaparte requested the admiral to write for some books for him from Madeira. At dinner he asked many questions about the different islands in the Atlantic, particularly to what nations they belonged, on which points his ignorance was most glaring. Talking of the West Indies, he said that had he continued at the head of the French Government, he never would have attempted the re-occupation of St. Domingo; that the most he would have established with regard to that island would have been to keep frigates and sloops stationed around it to force the blacks to receive everything they wanted from, and to export all their produce exclusively to, France; for, he added, he considered the independence of the blacks there to be more likely to prove detrimental to England than to France. This latter remark is a reitera-

tion of his feelings with respect to England, as in all the calculations he makes, the proportion of evil which may accrue to our nation seems to bear in his mind the first consideration. In the evening we played at *vingt-un*, and he retired about his usual hour. Our latitude and longitude to-day were at noon 34° 58′ N. and 13° 31′ W.

August 23.—Our north-east wind veered to the east, freshened, and the weather became hot, hazy, and unpleasant. About two o'clock we made Porto Santo, and afterward Madeira. Bonaparte did not walk before dinner; at the meal he appeared pensive and out of spirits. He asked the admiral some questions relative to Madeira, as to its extent, how long it had been discovered, and by whom. Immediately after dinner he went on the poop, and observed the island very particularly as we ran along it until we brought to off Funchal after dark, when he went to the after cabin; and after playing a few games at piquet with Madame Montholon, he retired to his own cabin, evidently out of sorts. This day at noon we were about nine leagues E.S.E. of Porto Santo.

August 24.—We remained lying to off Funchal, the *Havannah* and troop-ships anchored in the roads to procure water and some cattle, and I

went on shore to procure some wine and fruit. Mr. Veitch, His Majesty's consul, visited the ship, of whom Bonaparte asked numerous questions with respect to the island, its produce, the height above the level of the sea, its population, &c. Mr. Veitch dined on board, and after dinner Bonaparte walked with him and the admiral a considerable time, conversing on general topics, when he retired at once to his bedroom without joining the card-table. This day at noon we lay to off the town of Funchal, Madeira.

August 25.—We had a continuation of the violent and most disagreeable siroc wind, which commenced on our first making the island; and such was the superstition of the inhabitants, that they attributed this destructive siroc to Bonaparte being off the island, and were extremely apprehensive that their crops, which were nearly ripe, would be more than half destroyed. The frigate and troop-ships did not join until about three o'clock, having been much retarded by the violence of the weather in procuring supplies, which supplies, owing to the same cause, took us until dark in receiving, after which we made sail to the southward. The heat of the siroc, and the disagreeable nature of the wind, added to the motion of the ship, which was very considerable,

evidently affected General Bonaparte. At dinner he ate very little, and was out of spirits; this evening he played at *vingt-un* for about half an hour only, and then retired to his bedroom. During the day, at the recommendation of the admiral, he had his standing bed-place removed, taking a large cot in its stead. This day at noon we were about seven leagues S.W. of Madeira.

August 26.—Though the wind continued from the east, its siroc qualities had left it, to our great relief, and this proved a cool, pleasant day, with little or no motion. This change brought General Bonaparte out of his cabin earlier than usual, and he appeared in better health than he had been for some days. Having been on shore, he asked me what number of priests and churches there were at Funchal, and if there was any theatre. After dinner he walked a considerable time with the admiral, talking generally of the affairs of Europe, and, among other things, he told the admiral he had observed in some of the French papers brought from Guernsey that the King of Prussia was about to change the nature of his government, and to admit a national representation in it, which he foretold would produce the greatest difficulties both to the King of Prussia and the

Emperor of Austria.[1] He said he knew there were many revolutionary spirits in both those countries, and that the nations of the Continent were not adapted for a representative government like England. On the admiral's remarking that he had, however, adopted it in the constitution which he had himself established in France, he acknowledged he had done so, but added that it was not because he considered it a wise measure for the nation, but because his situation at the moment required him to yield this point to the popular feeling, and it being, he said, at the time his particular interest to substantiate any innovations, and, in short, whatever differed essentially from the old system of government, thereby to render more difficult the restoration of the former order of things, and therewith the dynasty of the Bourbons. He went again over the old ground of the military bias of the French nation, and the impolicy of exasperating the French people. He spoke much of their determined aversion to the Bourbons, which he said could not but be materially increased by the idea of that family being again put in possession of the government by means of foreign troops, who had carried ruin and devastation into the greater part of the

[1] This rumour proved to be incorrect.—J. H. R.

country. Therefore he was quite sure the troubles of France were by no means at an end; they might be said to be smothered for the moment by terror, and by the presence of the allied troops, but if these forces withdrew from the country whilst the recollection of recent events remained fresh in the minds of the people, he averred that a general insurrection in France would take place immediately, and it would cause much difficulty and bloodshed ere it could be again suppressed. In the course of conversation he mentioned that he had left his brother Jerome at Paris, who had determined to remain there in disguise for some time until he saw the turn affairs were likely to take; he added that he did not know what had become of him (Jerome) afterward, as of course he had not been able to hear from him since.[1] After his walk with the admiral he went into the after cabin, and before we had formed our card-party he retired to his sleeping-cabin. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 30° 53′ N. and 17° 22′ W.

August 27.—General Bonaparte walked some time with the admiral, during which he mentioned

[1] Jerome Bonaparte, after Waterloo, retired to Würtemberg with his consort, a princess of that kingdom. He was for some time kept under some measure of constraint.—J. H. R.

his having expended £3,000,000 sterling in the improvements at Cherbourg; that he had constructed there a basin, or rather a kind of inner harbour (as it was without gates), which could contain thirty sail of the line, and had fifty feet of depth at low water. The outer road, which he said was now perfectly safe in all winds, would also contain thirty sail of the line more. He had arranged everything for building ships there, and, in short, for making it a naval port of the first rank, and he added that he conceived such an establishment so situated would have caused us much difficulty with regard to our possessions of Jersey and Guernsey. The only thing he dreaded relative to this establishment, and which he was therefore taking every precaution to avert, was our getting momentary possession of the place by a *coup de main* at any favourable juncture, in which case he was aware that a few barrels of gunpowder scientifically placed might destroy in an instant what had cost so much time, expense, and labour to complete. This evening he played until about nine, and then retired to his cabin. To-day at noon we were about four leagues west of Gomera, with a fresh breeze from the north-east, running between the islands at the rate of about eleven miles an hour.

August 28.—Our north-east wind continued, but not so fresh as yesterday. The weather became hot, the thermometer being from 78° to 80°. General Bonaparte was particularly serious the whole of the day, and General Bertrand was very much out of sorts, in consequence of the admiral having refused to allow lights to be burnt in the sleeping-cabins all night. In the evening Bonaparte played at whist for a short time, and that very badly, and then retired to his sleeping-cabin. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 24° 23′ N. and 20° 23′ W.

August 29.—We had moderate weather, with much swell. General Bonaparte complained much of the heat, and sat in his sleeping-cabin *en chemise* with the door open, reading till about two o'clock, when he made his toilet, and then came into the after cabin, where he played at chess until dinner-time. Of late he has taken no exercise excepting a short walk after dinner, and even during this walk he generally leans half his time against one or other of the guns. In the evening he did not join the card-party, but played at chess with General Montholon. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 24° 23′ N. and 20° 23′ W.

August 30.—We had a fresh trade-wind, with

disagreeable weather and heavy swell, which caused the ship to roll considerably. General Bonaparte seemed to suffer much from these causes; he ate very little, seemed disinclined to enter into conversation, and, after being a short time on deck after dinner, he retired to his own cabin without playing either at cards or chess. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 22° 27′ N. and 22° 12′ W.

August 31.—The fresh trade-wind and swell continued. The general, however, appeared better, though the rolling of the ship seemed still to affect him. In conversation with the admiral he mentioned that when his army in Egypt was seriously visited by the plague, the soldiers, and indeed the officers, became so disheartened that as general-in-chief he found it absolutely part of his duty to endeavour to give them confidence and reanimate them by visiting frequently the hospitals, and talking to and cheering the different patients. He said he caught the disorder himself, but recovered again quickly.[1] This evening Bonaparte played chess, and was in very good spirits. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 19° 55′ N. and 25° 43′ W.

[1] It is more than doubtful whether Bonaparte had the plague even in its lightest form.—J. H. R.

September 1.—We had a fresh trade-wind, accompanied with uncommonly thick weather, which prevented our making the island of St. Antonio as soon as was expected; but just as the sun set we found ourselves close to the south-west end of it, not having been able previously to discern any part. We brought to, with the intention of communicating with the islands in the morning, and of waiting for the *Peruvian* and *Zenobia*, which had been sent ahead to reconnoitre, and to search for a convenient watering-place. During this forenoon Bonaparte asked many questions relative to the Cape de Verde Islands. He also made some minute inquiries at dinner relative to the nature and cause of the Gulf Stream. This evening he played a rubber at whist, and then retired to his sleeping-cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 17° 45′ N. and 25° 4′ W.

September 2.—During the night it blew a heavy gale of wind, and our party were much alarmed. Soon after daylight the wind veered from north-east to east and from east to south-east and south, still blowing so hard as to render it impracticable to communicate with the islands. About noon the two brigs rejoined without having been able to procure anything what-

ever, and giving an unfavourable report as to any chance of procuring water. We made sail to the southward and westward, the squadron being put to short allowance of water. General Bonaparte, in spite of the weather, made his appearance at dinner; but owing to the motion, he did not seem to enjoy himself, entering very little into conversation. This evening we played a short time at piquet. This day at noon we were about seven leagues off the south-west end of St. Antonio. Our latitude was 17° 6′ N.

September 3.—The wind continued to the north-east, and became light, baffling, and calm, with very hot weather, the thermometer being from 82° to 83° throughout the day. Bonaparte complained much of the heat. To-day, in talking over the affairs of France, amongst other things he said that after his arrival at Paris from Elba he had received assurances from the King of Spain, and from the Portuguese, that whatever appearances they might be forced to make, he might depend on their not taking any active offensive part against him.[1] Bonaparte played cards this evening for about an hour, and then

[1] Spain in 1815 joined the coalition of the Powers against Napoleon almost at once, and prepared to send an army to invade France.—J. H. R.

retired to his cabin. Latitude and longitude this day at noon, 16° 15′ N. 20° 30′ W.

September 4.—Fine weather, with a moderate breeze from the north-east. General Bonaparte made his appearance in the after cabin earlier than usual, where he amused himself at chess until dinner-time. He was very cheerful at dinner, and after it he walked for a considerable time with the admiral, during which he related the Jaffa poisoning story, his statement of which was that, finding himself compelled to evacuate Jaffa, and leave it to be taken possession of by the troops of Djezza Pacha (whose cruelty of character was well known, and who invariably mutilated in the most barbarous manner such prisoners as fell into their hands), he ordered off before him all the sick of the army which could be moved, to facilitate which he even lent his own horses.[1] When the chief surgeon represented to him that there were a few Frenchmen in such an advanced state of the plague that there did not remain even a probability of their recovering, and that the attempting to move them with the rest would endanger the whole

[1] After leaving Acre, and again after Jaffa, Bonaparte proceeded some way on foot so as to hasten the progress of the convoy of wounded.—J. H. R.

army, Bonaparte, well knowing that if these unfortunate wretches fell into the hands of Djezza Pacha every possible cruelty would be practised on them in their last moments, asked the physician whether under the existing circumstances it would not be an act of charity to accelerate their death by opium; and on the physician declaring he did not feel himself justified in adopting this proposed measure, he (General Bonaparte) ordered a council of all the medical men in the army to be assembled, to ascertain, in the first place, whether the removal of these people or of any of them might be effected without endangering in an unwarrantable degree the remainder of the army, and whether there existed any chance of adequate benefit accruing to them if their removal should be attempted. In the next place, if the council agreed on the absolute necessity of leaving some behind, then to consider whether it would not be better for the individuals themselves to relieve them of their sufferings by administering opium, rather than to leave them in the state they were to be tormented in their last moments by the cruelty of their implacable enemies, into whose hands they would inevitably be doomed to fall. He said this

council was public, everybody knew what passed in it, and he therefore had been surprised at the many contradictory and ridiculous stories which he knew had got abroad respecting this transaction. He added that after this medical council had finished their deliberations, they reported to him it was their decided and unanimous opinion that these people ought not on any account to be removed, and that although they were of opinion there did not exist a possibility of their recovery, yet the majority of the council could not bear the idea of adopting such a measure as accelerating the death of an individual under their charge, however desperate his case might be; but they further stated that they had every reason to believe all difficulties on this head would cease by the natural consequences of the disease under which these poor fellows laboured, if the general could so arrange as to retain the place forty-eight hours longer, at the expiration of which time they considered it scarcely possible that one of them could remain alive. On receiving this report, Bonaparte instantly determined on retaining Jaffa the time specified by the council, and he continued in it himself with the whole army twenty-four hours, and then left a strong rear-guard to hold it the other twenty-four hours, at

the expiration of which time, he said, the prediction of the council was pretty well verified by the death of almost every one of the patients in question, and that the two or three who were left were in the very last possible stage. (This latter part of the statement was corroborated by Captain Beattie of the marines, serving on board the *Northumberland*, who at that time belonged to the *Theseus*, and who was one of the first who entered Jaffa after the French had quitted it, and even before the troops of Djezza Pacha. He states there were only three or four Frenchmen found alive in Jaffa, and those in the last stage of the plague. Captain Beattie also states that he heard nothing of the Jaffa poisoning story until he returned to England.[1]) Bonaparte further stated that he considered the measure he wished to have adopted as being more worthy of praise than the contrary, and said that had he been one of those afflicted, he should have considered it the greatest act of kindness to be so dealt with, rather

[1] Sir Sidney Smith, on landing at Jaffa, found seven of the French plague-stricken still alive in hospital. The story about the giving the sick at Jaffa an overdose of opium seems to have originated with Miot, a commissary of the French army. Sir Robert Wilson afterwards repeated it. The French physician with the expedition, Larrey, refuted it.—J. H. R.

than to be left to be tormented by the wanton savages of Djezza Pacha's army. Such is the statement from this man of the Jaffa story, which has caused so much talk. Bonaparte walked this evening much later than usual, and retired at once to his own cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 15° 34′ N. and 26° 36′ W.

September 5.—We had light winds with exceeding hot weather. Among other conversation to-day, Bonaparte recounted to the admiral the following particulars of what passed between him and the Queen of Prussia at Tilsit, when (to solicit that Magdebourg might be left to Prussia) she joined the royal party there. He stated that had she arrived sooner, it is probable she would have gained her point in this particular, not only by reason of the great advantage an extremely clever and fine woman of high rank must always have when personally urging any suit she has much at heart, but also from the inclination he (Bonaparte) then had to meet as far as he conveniently could the wishes of the Emperor Alexander, who, he did not hesitate in affirming, was at the time a strongly attached and much-favoured admirer of her Prussian Majesty. It was, he said, owing to the King of Prussia

being apprised of this latter circumstance, and consequently being extremely jealous of the Emperor of Russia, that the former prevented the queen from coming sooner to Tilsit; and not until the Prussian ministers, toward the closing of the arrangements, urged him in the strongest manner to send for her, that they might have the benefit of her abilities and influence to second their endeavours to obtain better terms for Prussia, to which the king at last consented. When she arrived, the whole party being to dine with him (Bonaparte), she was introduced before dinner, and entered with great vivacity and ability on the subject of the approaching treaty, and strongly solicited as a personal favour to herself that he would consent to leaving Magdebourg to Prussia, which she said would bind her family to him by the strongest ties of gratitude and respect.[1] Bonaparte said her Majesty pressed her suit warmly and cleverly, but he merely replied to all she said in general terms of civility, and avoided giving her any decided answer, or entering at

[1] By the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807), Prussia ceded her lands west of the River Elba (including Magdeburg) to the new Kingdom of Westphalia, ruled over by Jerome Bonaparte.—J. H. R.

all with her into the merits of the question, notwithstanding which it was evident by her behaviour at dinner that she entertained sanguine hopes of succeeding. He said she sat between the Emperor of Russia and himself, and although most elegant and amiable in her manners, she did not for a moment lose sight of the object she had in view. At the dessert, on his offering her a rose he took out of a vase near him, she on taking it asked if she might consider it as a token of friendship and of his having acceded to her request. Being, however, he said, upon his guard, and resolved not to be thus caught by surprise, he parried this attack with some general remarks respecting the light in which alone civilities of this description should be regarded, and then he turned the conversation.

Notwithstanding this, however, and his having been extremely cautious throughout the evening not to allow anything to escape which might in the slightest degree authorise the queen to believe him inclined to yield to her solicitation, yet when she went away she appeared to be well satisfied and to have persuaded herself that her endeavours were not to prove unsuccessful. Bonaparte said that, thinking it would

be therefore impolitic to leave the question any longer open for discussion, he caused the treaty to be signed at once on the next morning, and, of course, without any alterations in it in favour of Prussia. When the queen came the next day to dinner, he said she evidently showed herself piqued and much hurt, but she behaved with great dignity, and did not once allude to the treaty, nor to anything which had passed respecting it, until going away, when, as Bonaparte was handing her to her carriage, she mentioned to him how much he had disappointed her by the refusal of her request, and that had he complied, it would have attached the whole family to him for ever, and so forth; to which he only answered that he should ever consider it as one of the greatest misfortunes of his life that it had not been within his power to obey her Majesty's commands in this affair, begging her, however, to believe it would always afford him the highest gratification to be able to meet any wish of hers, and adding more civil speeches of this kind (saying, with a self-applauding smile), "Mais tout cela n'était pas Magdebourg"); and having reached the carriage, he put her into it, bid her good-night, and left her. He added that previous, however, to her driving off, she sent for

Duroc (the grand maréchal of the palace) to her carriage, when, giving vent to her feelings, which she had till then stifled, she could not refrain from tears whilst complaining to him of her great disappointment, saying how much she had been deceived in Bonaparte's character, and hurt by what had passed. Early the next morning he said he received a message from her to say that, being taken suddenly ill, she had been compelled to quit Tilsit and return home; and thus, he said, Magdebourg was retained, though perhaps he had suffered somewhat by it in the good graces of her Prussian Majesty. He said he thought her a most elegant, engaging woman, and as handsome as could be expected for thirty-five years of age. He spoke, however, very badly of her character as a wife, and particularly with reference to the Emperor Alexander, to oblige whom he mentioned (laughing heartily as he did so) that he detained the King of Prussia a whole day by announcing an intention of paying him a formal visit, of which the Emperor Alexander took a premeditated advantage by setting off to obtain thereby an uninterrupted *tête-à-tête* with the queen.[1] Bonaparte played cards this evening for about an hour, and retired to his own cabin.

[1] There is no truth in these malicious insinuations.—J. H. R.

Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 13° 58′ N. and 25° 30′ W.

September 6.—The trade-wind continued until about four in the afternoon, when we had excessive heavy rain. Bonaparte, who was in very good spirits, had no sooner eaten his dinner than, to the surprise of all, he got up to take his usual walk on deck, notwithstanding it was still pouring with rain ; and on the admiral remarking to him the same, and advising him not to go out, he treated it lightly, and said the rain would not hurt him more than the sailors whom he saw on deck catching the rain and running about in it. The admiral no longer opposed him, and out he went, accompanied by Bertrand and Las Cases, who though obliged to attend him, seemed by no means to enjoy the idea of the wetting they were doomed to undergo. It required but a short time to obtain a complete soaking, which the trio did, and Bonaparte then retired to his own cabin, from which he did not make his appearance during the evening. Our latitude and longitude at noon were 12° 41′ N. and 23° 55′ W.

September 7 and 8.—We had moderate weather, with occasional showers, which kept the air cool. Nothing occurred worthy of remark. Our latitude and longitude at noon on the seventh were 12° 2′

N. and 22° 59′ W. Fine weather with south-south-west winds. Bonaparte, in conversing with the admiral to-day, mentioned many of the leading characters in England. He stated particularly the high respect he entertained for the character of the late Lord Cornwallis, whose manners and behaviour at Amiens he spoke of as being most noble and honourable to himself and the country.[1] He spoke in equal terms of panegyric of Mr. Fox, with whom he said he had had much conversation when he was in France.[2] He said he had formed a great friendship for Captain Ussher, who had conveyed him to Elba, and added that he had hoped to have seen him at Paris; that he had confidently looked for a visit from him there, and was much disappointed at his not coming to see him in his prosperity, as he had commenced an acquaintance with him in his adversity. He

[1] On March 24, 1802, Cornwallis promised the French plenipotentiary at Amiens, Joseph Bonaparte, to sign the treaty as it then stood. He then received contrary instructions from Downing Street, but signed the treaty with France on March 25, as he felt himself bound by his promise of the night before.—J. H. R.

[2] Fox was presented to the First Consul at the Tuileries in September, 1802, during the Peace of Amiens. The Whig orator was not favourably impressed by him. See "Memoirs of Charles James Fox," by J. B. Trotter, chap. xii.—J. H. R.

spoke of many others, but not by any means in a flattering strain. This evening he amused himself by playing at whist, and retired at his usual hour. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 11° 43′ N. and 22° 47′ W.

September 9.—The south-south-west wind continued, with moderate and cool weather. Bonaparte spent his forenoon in playing at chess. In the evening he told the admiral that whilst he was at Paris he gained possession of a correspondence for a foreign royal personage of high consideration in England, which spoke in very disrespectful terms of different branches of our royal family; that he (Bonaparte) had been on the point of publishing these letters in the *Moniteur*, but had desisted, or rather recalled them from the publisher, at the earnest intercession of, and from consideration of, the person by whose means he obtained them.[1] Bonaparte played this evening again at whist, and seems to have neglected his favourite game of *vingt-un*. Our latitude and longitude at noon were 11° 24′ N. and 21° 37′ W.

September 10 *and* 11.—We had continued fine,

[1] These letters probably referred to the Prince Regent and his consort, afterwards Queen Caroline; her doings already caused much scandal.—J. H. R.

pleasant weather. Bonaparte to-day in his conversation merely asked general questions as to the progress we had made in our voyage, and the probable time of the duration of it, the distance we were from the coast of Africa, and what was the nearest part. In the evening he played at cards, and retired at his usual hour. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 10° 11′ N. and 20° 56′ W.

We advanced pleasantly on our voyage. Bonaparte, in conversation to-day with the admiral respecting England, said that had he succeeded in his attempt of invasion, and had reached London, his chief object and first endeavour would have been to have there concluded a peace, which he said should have immediately been offered on "moderate terms"; but what under those circumstances he would have considered moderate terms, the admiral could not draw from him. He, however, stated the relinquishment of the right of maritime visitation of neutrals as one of the points he would have insisted on.[1] In the evening, when we had assembled at the card-table, he took up a small book of Persian tales, with which he amused

[1] It is well known that Bonaparte determined to have the chief British Colonial possessions, especially in the East Indies and North America, along with Malta.—J. H. R.

himself in reading aloud to the company, making his comments on these tales, and laughing heartily at many parts of them. He reads very distinctly, much slower than he speaks, and with good emphasis ; but in conversation at times it is difficult to follow him, from the quick manner in which he utters with a peculiar pronunciation. After reading for about two hours, and some commonplace conversation, he retired to his own cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 8° 48′ N. and 19° 39′ W.

September 12.—We had a continuation of fine and pleasant weather. Having caught a shark to-day, Bonaparte, with the eagerness of a school-boy, scrambled on the poop to see it. It was not a large one, not being more than twelve feet long; it, however, was sufficiently so to astonish our French party. Our catching this shark was the subject of conversation at dinner, when Bonaparte asked what was the size of sharks in general, as also that of whales, the nature of them, the method of catching them, and other similar questions. In the evening we played at *vingt-un* for about an hour, and Bonaparte retired about his usual time. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 8° 2′ N. and 18° 1′ W.

September 13.—We had moderate weather,

with south-south-west winds. Bonaparte made his appearance in the after cabin and played at piquet until dinner-time, during which he conversed relative to the Russian campaign, principally as to the force employed. After dinner he walked a considerable time with the admiral, conversing on the same subject, whom he assured in the strongest manner that the only objects he had when he undertook the Russian expedition, and all he should have asked had he been successful, was the independence of Poland (to which nation he intended leaving the free choice of their own king, only recommending to them Poniatowski as worthy of such distinction), and to make the Emperor of Russia engage to join firmly in the Continental system against commercial intercourse of any sort with England, until its Government should be brought to agree to what he termed the "independence of the seas." Bonaparte, however, subsequently, when talking of Moscow, let escape that he had procured there emissaries to disperse throughout the country amongst the Russian peasantry to bias them in his favour and against their own Government, to explain to them the miseries they suffered from the unjust state of slavery in which they were kept, and to offer them freedom and protection if they would seek it

through his means. He said he had received many applications from different bodies of them; and had he been able to have maintained himself in the country, he was quite certain he should have had the mass of the population in his favour.[1] He walked a considerable time this evening, and then adjourned to the after cabin, where he amused himself by playing at cards until near ten o'clock, when he retired. Latitude and longitude this day at noon were 7° 33′ N. and 17° 15′ W.

September 14.—We had moderate, pleasant weather. Bonaparte passed this forenoon as usual. In the evening, talking with the admiral relative to Russia, he said that prior to the death of the Emperor Paul he (Bonaparte), while he was first consul, had received seven or eight letters written in his Imperial Majesty's own hand, pressing him to enter into close and intimate alliance for the express purpose of exerting the united efforts of the two countries to humble Great Britain; and the emperor proposed, if Bonaparte approved of it, to send off at once a large Russian army to act against the English

[1] This is misleading. His proposals had scarcely any influence on the Russians, though the Poles and Lithuanians supported him.—J. H. R.

interest in India.[1] Bonaparte said he was about to despatch a confidential ambassador with full powers to make the necessary arrangements, and to communicate to the emperor his sentiments on these points, when he received the unwelcome intelligence of the emperor's assassination. He added that from the opinion the Emperor Paul seemed by his letters to entertain of him (Bonaparte), and from the great confidence he appeared to place in him, he had no doubt, if their negotiation had gone on, he would shortly have attained sufficient ascendancy with the emperor to have induced him to change the foolish and impolitic course he was then pursuing in his own country, in which case his life would probably have been saved, and he might have become an ally of great importance to the French; and therefore Bonaparte said he considered Paul's death at the moment it took place as a particularly untoward circumstance. This evening we played at whist until Bonaparte retired. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 7° 2′ N. and 17° 10′ W.

September 15.—Fine weather, with westerly winds. This day was passed as usual, with

[1] A Russian force was about to start for the Persian frontier when the assassination of the Czar Paul put an end to the plan.—J. H. R.

nothing particular worthy of remark. The whole of the squadron which left England, viz., *Northumberland* of 74 guns (Captain Ross), *Havannah* of 36 guns (Captain George Hamilton), *Redpole* of 10 guns (Captain Denman), *Peruvian* of 18 guns (Captain White), *Zenobia* of 18 guns (Captain Dobree), *Zephyr* of 14 guns (Captain Rich), *Icarus* of 10 guns (Captain Devon), *Ferret* of 10 guns (Captain Stirling), troop-ship *Ceylon* (Captain Hamilton), troop-ship *Bucephalus* (Captain Westropp), were in company, and all perfectly healthy. Latitude and longitude at noon, 6° 7′ N. and 16° 26′ W.

September 16.—Fine weather. Bonaparte today asked numerous questions relative to the coast of Africa, and our distance from it. He amused himself before dinner by playing chess. In the evening, when talking with the admiral on the propriety of the different capitals of Europe being sufficiently fortified to enable them to withstand for a short time a sudden advance and attack of an enemy's army, he said he had long foreseen the propriety of having works of this kind around Paris, but he had been restrained from ordering them by his dread of the effect it might have on the public opinion; in concert with which he had considered it a requisite policy

always to act, and which even in the zenith of his power he had never felt himself strong enough to disregard. He added that he knew full well the French character to be such that until the danger was at their gates they could not have borne the idea of such a precaution being for a moment necessary. This evening we changed the game of cards from *vingt-un* to "speculation," which became very noisy, and Bonaparte retired earlier than usual. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 5° 6′ N. and 15° 29′ W.

September 17.—Pleasant weather, with south-west winds. To-day at dinner Bonaparte was extremely chatty, and talked on the subject of his meditated invasion of England. The admiral asked him if he had procured any plans of our fortifications at Chatham, when he replied he had not, but that he had a general idea of the lines there, and that he had no doubt of procuring in time such further information on the subject as was necessary for him ; he said he had obtained his intelligence very regularly from England by means of our smuggling boats, and that amongst others Mr. Goldsmith (the editor) had conveyed him much useful information. He said he had a personal interview with Goldsmith at Boulogne, at one of the periods he (Goldsmith) came over

in one of those smuggling boats. He added that considerable sums of money had been paid to him by the police at different times, for services of this nature. He further observed that he believed Goldsmith to possess talent, although a most consummate rogue.[1] (This was uttered with such an apparent malicious cunning as to make those at table particularly notice it.) This evening, after his usual walk, he joined the party in the after cabin, but instead of playing at cards he amused himself at chess until about ten, and then retired. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 4° 32′ N. and 14° 26′ W.

September 18.—We had light winds. From the dulness of the sailing of the troop-ships we have daily been compelled to shorten sail, with which Bonaparte has invariably found fault, showing an apparent desire for the voyage to end. His first question on making his appearance is, "What is the latitude and longitude?" then, "What progress have we made since yesterday? What distance are we from the coast of Africa? What port are we nearest to? How far are we from the line?" and so forth.

[1] L. Goldsmith was the author of the work "Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte" (London, 1810), an untrustworthy work.—J. H. R.

No particular conversation occurred to-day either at dinner or in the evening. Our latitude and longitude at noon were 3° 55′ N. and 12° 56′ W.

September 19.—Moderate weather. Bonaparte to-day, in conversing again on his former meditated invasions, speaking of Ireland, said he had arranged everything with that country; and if he could have got safely over to it the force he intended sending, the party there was so strong in his favour that he had every reason to suppose they would have succeeded in possessing themselves of the whole island. He said he had kept up constant communication with the disaffected party, which he averred was by no means confined to the Roman Catholics, but had also a very large proportion of Protestants.[1] He said he invariably acquiesced in everything they wished for, leaving all arrangements respecting the country, religion, &c., entirely to themselves, his grand and only object being to gain the advantageous point for him of separating Ireland from England. He said those who came to

[1] Napoleon, on September 29, 1804, planned to send 18,000 troops from Brest to Ireland; but the scheme came to nothing. See "Life of Napoleon," by J. H. Rose, vol. i. pp. 491–2, 505–6, 510–12.—J. H. R.

him from Ireland generally came and returned through London, by which means he obtained from them information respecting both countries; and they crossed the Channel backward and forward with little risk or difficulty by means of his friends the smugglers. But he added that notwithstanding the great advantages he thus derived from these smugglers, he found out at last they played a similar game backward and forward, and carried as much intelligence to England as they brought to him from it, and he was therefore obliged to forbid their being any longer admitted at Dunkirk, or indeed anywhere but at Gravelines, where he established particular regulations respecting them, and did not allow them to pass a barrier which he caused to be fixed for the purpose, and where he placed a guard to watch them, and to prevent their having unnecessary communication with the country. He ordered the goods and other articles they wished to have to be brought for them to this barrier, for which they paid a small additional impost. We played our usual game at *vingt-un* this evening. Latitude and longitude at noon were 3° 17′ N. and 11° 18′ W.

September 20.—We had south-west winds and cool weather. Bonaparte made many inquiries

as to our progress, and our other French passengers showed much impatience at the length of the voyage. Bonaparte neither walked nor talked much to-day, and nothing occurred worthy of particular remark. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 2° 39′ N. and 9° 29′ W.

September 21.—Cool and pleasant weather. To-day we had very little of General Bonaparte's company, as he was occupied all the forenoon learning English from Count Las Cases; but as yet he has never attempted to utter a word of English; and although he has been now six weeks on board, he cannot pronounce one of our names at all correctly. In the evening he played at whist, and retired early. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 1° 55′ N. and 7° 16′ W.

September 22.—South-west winds and cool weather. Bonaparte's conversation to-day was confined to the ceremony of crossing the line. He inquired of the admiral the nature of the ceremony, and how it originated. His health appears good, and he certainly looks better than when he embarked on board the *Northumberland;* his spirits are even, and he appears perfectly unconcerned about his fate. This evening he again played at whist. Our latitude

and longitude to-day at noon were 0° 54′ N. and 5° 22′ W.

September 23.—We had a fine steady breeze, and crossed the line a little before noon; and it is an occurrence worthy of remark that this day we have passed zero of latitude and zero of longitude, and the sun the zero of its declination. This morning, soon after breakfast, as it was known we should cross the equator this forenoon, Maréchal Bertrand came and asked if it was not customary for passengers of note to make a handsome present to the sailors; and on my replying it was customary to make presents, but not to any amount, he said the emperor was no ordinary person, and therefore the present ought to be no ordinary one; and he immediately went to the admiral and asked if he had any objection to Bonaparte's sending one or two hundred napoleons as a present to the seamen, to which the admiral without hesitation refused his consent, and indeed pointedly prohibited it, saying it was the custom in a manner to give a mere trifle, but if Bonaparte was particularly anxious to make a present he would allow five napoleons to be given, which sum was the utmost he would allow. Maréchal Bertrand argued for some time, saying one

hundred napoleons was the least such a person as the emperor could offer on so extraordinary an event as his crossing the line. However, his rhetoric had no avail in altering the admiral's determination, and it ended by nothing being given in the name of Bonaparte. His suite all made their appearance at Neptune's bar, and each made a present of a napoleon. Bonaparte did not make his appearance until almost dinner-time. During the dinner he was cheerful, talked over the ceremony of shaving, and he did not by his manner show that he was at all piqued by the refusal Maréchal Bertrand met with. In the evening we played at *vingt-un*, and the general retired at his usual hour. This day at noon latitude 0° 9′ S., and 3° 36′ [*sic*] W. longitude.

September 24 and 25.—We had the wind from the south-west, with a steady breeze, and the weather remarkably cool. Nothing worthy of remark occurred. Our French party show much impatience at the confinement on board ship. At noon latitude 0° 40′ S., longitude 2° 22′ W.

We had a heavy swell from the westward, with cloudy, cool weather. To-day, in conversation with the admiral, Bonaparte mentioned that a short time back he caused a survey to

be taken of the grown oak throughout France fit for ship-building—the report made to him on which stated that there was actually sufficient for building a thousand sail of the line; but he said France had failed altogether in trees fit for masts, and these therefore they were obliged to get from the Baltic. He said that understanding the Corsican firs were strong and tough enough to serve for masts during the two years immediately after their being cut down (after which time they lost their elasticity and became brittle), and as plenty of them could be conveyed to France at as little expense as from the Baltic, he had endeavoured to bring them into use for the French navy, authorising their being sawed into planks after having served two years as topmasts; but this plan was not approved of by the Marine Department, as there existed extraordinary prejudice throughout the French navy against masts made from any spars except those brought from the Baltic. He said there was a large quantity of masts belonging to the French Government at Copenhagen when Lord Nelson made the attack and consequent convention there, and that at the time he was alarmed for the safety of them; but the Danes kept their faith with him, and he afterward got

them all safe to France, although he was compelled to have them brought almost the whole of the way by inland navigation, being much in want of them, and the coast being too closely watched by our cruisers to allow him to trust them by sea. At noon this day, latitude 1° 20′ S., and longitude 1° 16′ W.

September 26 *and* 27.—We had south-south-west winds and pleasant, cool weather. Nothing material occurred; the troop-ships retard us considerably, and their so doing is a great subject of complaint with our French passengers. At noon this day, latitude 2° 4′ S., and longitude 0° 20′ W.

The cool, pleasant weather still continues, and the troop-ships drop more and more astern. Bonaparte for these last two days has been less communicative, and has kept his cabin more than usual; he seems to have entirely given up *vingt-un* of an evening, playing either chess or piquet in lieu. His health appears very good, and he says much of his time is occupied in learning English; however, it does not appear that he makes any very great progress. This day at noon we were in latitude 3° 12′ S., and longitude 0° 57′ E.

September 28.—Our pleasant weather still

continues, with the wind from the south-west. Bonaparte walked a short time both before and after dinner; nothing in his conversation was worthy of any particular remark, as he confined it to commonplace questions. In the evening we played at *vingt-un* as usual, while Bonaparte played at chess. At noon this day, latitude 4° 68′ [*sic*], and longitude 2° 25′ E.

September 29.—We had moderate and fine weather. Bonaparte appeared in very good spirits to-day, and asked various questions relative to the navy. After dinner he walked a length of time with the admiral; and speaking of the navy of France, he said he believed some of the superior officers were tolerable good seamen, but that none of them were good officers; that the best of them had been taken during the Revolution from the India and other merchant vessels; and as the French navy was so little employed, the officers were unaccustomed to command in any difficult or trying circumstances, and therefore when they had accidentally fallen into such situations they always appeared to have lost their heads, became quite confused, and whatever they did was precisely what they ought not. He said Admiral Gantheaume did very well whilst with

him (Bonaparte) at his elbow when coming from Egypt; but he added, if Admiral Gantheaume had been left to himself, he would have been taken twenty times over, for he constantly wanted to change the ship's course to avoid one enemy or other, and by such over-precautions he would have lost as much by night as he gained by day. Bonaparte said he therefore obliged the admiral always to explain to him upon paper the exact situation of the ship, and the apprehended danger, after which it almost always occurred that he took upon himself to desire the admiral to continue in a straight course for Fréjus, and to this alone he attributed their having got safe. Bonaparte also said it was a curious fact that Admiral Bruix,[1] on their way up to Alexandria, had actually explained to him very minutely the decided disadvantage a fleet must labour under by receiving at anchor an attack from an hostile fleet under sail; and yet from the want of recollection and presence of mind upon emergencies which the general had alluded to, their admiral a few weeks after

[1] This should be "Brueys." Admiral Bruix remained in French waters in 1798–9, and failed to carry out the instructions which might have led to the relief of Bonaparte in Egypt. Brueys perished on the flagship *L'Orient* at the Battle of the Nile.—J. H. R.

received at anchor Lord Nelson's attacks, losing his own life, and nearly his whole fleet, to exemplify the correctness of his ideas and the impropriety of his conduct, but which Bonaparte said he was positive would not have been the case (inasmuch as relates to the fighting at anchor) had he himself been on the spot. Bonaparte added, on the same subject, that it struck him the French admirals had generally on coming to action lost too much time in making manœuvres about forming the line, which had ultimately proved of no adequate advantage. He had therefore desired they might be instructed for the future, on approaching an enemy, that a signal to form the line as convenient for mutual support, and afterward a signal to engage would be always deemed fully sufficient to make to those under their orders; and after this the captain of every ship in the fleet was to be held individually responsible to the Government for getting the ship he commanded quickly into close battle, and doing his best toward the destroying of some one of the enemy, which would at all events prevent the captains from covering their own neglect, as Dumanoir had done, by attributing "errors to their chief."[1] Bonaparte

[1] See note, p. 144.

said he had, however, latterly resolved (unless some extraordinary emergency made it necessary) not to venture any more line-of-battle ships to sea until he should have had it in his power to have sent from the different ports 150 sail of the line at once, for the making up of which number he had laid all his plans. He affirmed that, from the efforts he intended to have made for this object, he believed very much time would not have elapsed before he would have completed them; in the meantime, he said, whatever it might have cost him, he had determined on always keeping ten sail of frigates at sea, for the purpose of making and improving his officers. He added that when his frigates had been sent on distant voyages or cruises, they were apt to consider their danger pretty well over when once safely through our line of cruisers on the French coast, after which they generally relaxed in their vigilance and precautions. He had therefore decided to order these ten frigates in future to cruise only in the neighbourhood of England or Ireland, where they would be certain to have enemies, bad weather, and dangerous coasts to keep them always on the alert; and those which managed to escape being wrecked or captured, must of course in such situations

do much more mischief to our commerce than had ever been done by the French frigates before in the open seas and southern latitudes. To the commanders of those who returned safe from such service, he said he would have given great promotion and rewards, and as fast as he heard of any being taken or lost, he should supply their place by fresh ones.[1] On the admiral's remarking to him the difficulty he conceived he would have found in obtaining seamen to have followed up this plan, he replied that by the conscription for the marines, which he had lately established in all the maritime departments of France, he would have had as many seamen as he pleased; its customary production without vexation would have given him 20,000 men a year, and already, for want of ships to put these seamen in, he had been obliged to form them into regiments for the protection of the coast. Admitting this, these men would only have been seamen because he chose to call them such. Bonaparte having walked this evening longer than usual, he did not join the *vingt-un* party, but retired early.

[1] This proof of Napoleon's belief in the survival of the fittest is interesting. For his *guerre de course*, adopted after Trafalgar, see note, p. 63. See, too, pp. 124, 125.—J. H. R.

Latitude 4° 52′ S., longitude 3° 50′ E., this day at noon.

September 30.—We had light airs and fine weather, with the wind to south-west. Bonaparte amused himself this morning by having the life of Lord Nelson read to him, and he seemed to take particular interest in that part relating to his trip to Egypt, and subsequent battle of Aboukir Bay, the account of which he has requested to have translated. This day at noon we were in latitude 5° 7′ S., and longitude 5° 6′ E.

October 1.—Our fine weather continued, with south-west winds. Bonaparte was again occupied the whole of the forenoon in listening to Bertrand reading the life of Lord Nelson. At the table he was cheerful, but confined his conversation to merely asking questions. At noon, latitude 5° 39′ S., and 6° 26′ E. longitude.

October 2.—The south-west winds still continued, and the troop-ships dropped further and further astern; nothing worthy of remark occurred. Bonaparte seemed to have quite given up the *vingt-un* party for chess, at which game he does not appear to make much progress. At noon this day our latitude 6° 0′ S., longitude 5° 50′ E.

October 3.—Fine weather. Bonaparte walked for a short time before dinner, asking the distance now remaining to St. Helena, and the probable time of reaching it. At dinner he conversed freely; and speaking of his campaigns, he told the admiral that at the battle of Wagram he had under his command in the field, actually engaged, a greater number of men than in any of his other battles; they amounted, he said, to about 180,000 bayonets, and at the same time he had in the field 1,000 pieces of cannon.[1] At Moscow, he said, though not much short of that number, he certainly had not so many; and at the battle of Leipsic he did not think he had more than 140,000.[2] In answer to a question put to him by the admiral, he said he considered General Clausel to be decidedly the most able military officer now in France. Maréchal Soult and other of the maréchals were, he said, brave and able men for carrying into execution operations previously planned; but to plan and execute

[1] These numbers are slightly in excess of those actually engaged. Marshal Marmont states in his Memoirs that he saw the returns of the French army at Wagram as 167,000 in all, that is including the cavalry and artillery.—J. H. R.

[2] At Leipzig, Napoleon had about 190,000 men and 734 guns; but the allies had, in all, more than 300,000 men.—J. H. R.

with large armies, in his opinion none of them were by any means equal to General Clausel. Bonaparte asked who were considered our best generals, when Sir George Bingham having mentioned Lord Lynedoch, Lord Niddry, Lord Combermere, Lord Uxbridge, and others, Bonaparte replied, "But I believe you think Lord Wellington the best." Our evening was spent similarly to the former ones. At noon this day we were in latitude 6° 53′ S., longitude 6° 40′ E.

October 4.—Fine weather, with south-south-west winds. The conversation of our passengers was confined to the fine weather we have had, and the probable speedy termination of the voyage. Every one has hitherto enjoyed good health except Madame Bertrand, whose complaints have been more mental than bodily; she has, however, suffered of late so much as not to be able to quit her cabin. The children are remarkably healthy, and certainly much improved by the voyage. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 7° 50′ S. and 7° 8′ E.

October 5.—Our fine weather still continues, and as our voyage shortens our squadron diminishes, having now only the *Peruvian*,

Zenobia, and *Bucephalus* in company, the latter scarcely in sight. Nothing particular occurred to-day. Bonaparte played at piquet before dinner, and chess after. This day at noon our latitude 8° 50′ S., longitude 8° 52′ E.

October 6 and 7.—This day passed in the same unvaried routine, as to wind, weather, conversation, and passing our time, as many other previous days. Our latitude and longitude this day were 9° 35′ S. and 9° 32′ E.

The wind still continues to the south-south-west. The *Bucephalus* is no longer in sight, and the admiral seems determined not to be further delayed, therefore we may expect to reach St. Helena in another week, which I hope may be the case, as our passengers are becoming daily more and more impatient. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 9° 30′ S. and 9° 50′ E.

October 8.—We have been anxiously expecting the south-east trade-wind, but hitherto without avail. Bonaparte to-day walked and talked a very considerable time with the admiral, giving him a succinct account of his rise to the eminence from which he is now fallen. Bonaparte said it was owing to the want of officers at the beginning of the revolutionary war that he was sent for

(although then but a young captain of artillery) from the northern frontier, where he was serving, to take the command of the artillery before Toulon [1]; that almost immediately after his arrival at this station he had pointed out to General Carteaux the necessity of making a great effort to get possession of the place, which was called Fort Mulgrave by us, which he (Bonaparte) engaged to do if General Carteaux would allow him, and foretold that that place once taken would oblige the English immediately to entirely evacuate Toulon. This proposal, however, General Carteaux would not listen to, and they therefore went on some time longer according to their former plan of attack, without materially advancing in the siege or doing any real good, until one of the representatives of the people coming to the army to overlook what they were about (as was customary at that time), Bonaparte directly laid before him his plans, and obtaining his approval, Carteaux was overruled and obliged to adopt the measures which Bonaparte had

[1] A curious misstatement. Bonaparte, in August, 1793, arrived with his family from Corsica; he was soon told off to serve in the "Army of Nice"; but, owing to the lack of officers and the Jacobin forces before Toulon, was detained by the Commissioners Saliceti and Gasparin, and sent to take part in that siege.—J. H. R.

before proposed to him, which succeeding precisely according to his predictions, he was in reward promoted to the rank of general of brigade.[1] He said he afterward went with a part of the same army into Savoy, where he rendered some further services; but it having been just then determined, in consequence of the scarcity of officers for the infantry, to draft into it some of the officers of artillery, and it falling to his (General Bonaparte's) lot to be one of these, he quitted the army and went to Paris to remonstrate, and to endeavour to avoid being so exchanged, but meeting with an unfavourable reception from a general of artillery, who was a representative of the people, and who had the chief management of these arrangements. After some high words passing between them, he (Bonaparte) retired in disgust, and putting on the dress of the Institute of Paris, to which he then belonged (having been elected to it in consequence of his proficiency in mathematics), he continued in Paris, endeavouring to keep quiet and from the armies, which he said, however, he should at last have been obliged to have joined, perhaps in a subordinate capacity, had not the advance of the Austrian general De Vins

[1] See note, p. 56.

into Italy, and the retreat and alarm of the French army opposed to him, spread considerable consternation at Paris, which induced the Committee of Public Safety (who knew General Bonaparte was well acquainted with the locality of that country) to send for him to consult with him on the best measures to be adopted;[1] and they were so satisfied with what he laid before them on the subject, that they immediately caused him to draw instructions for their general in Italy, upon his (Bonaparte's) advice, and the committee then directed that General Bonaparte might remain near them in Paris to assist them on such military points as they might wish to consult him upon. The advice he gave, as before mentioned, Bonaparte said proved efficacious; their Italian army took up the position he had pointed out, and thereby was enabled to stand its ground, without falling any farther back, in spite

[1] De Vins occupied Savona in June, 1795, and the French retreated to Loano. Bonaparte had drafted his first plan of campaign for Italy at Colmars on May 21, 1794. The second plan, or plans, belong to July, 1795. In August, Bonaparte was appointed to a post in the Typographical Bureau of the Committee of Public Safety. He did not, as here stated, hold this post continuously up to 13 Vendémiare (1795); for he was dismissed from the army and the public service on September 15, 1795, owing to his having refused to go to La Vendée as an infantry officer.—J. H. R.

of every effort of the Austrian general to force it, until it became strong enough to attack in its turn, which it ultimately did, and then defeated General De Vins, and was most completely successful. Bonaparte said he gained considerable credit on this account, and he remained at Paris attached to the Committee of Public Safety until the 13 Vendémiare, the day on which the Convention was attacked by the revolted sections of Paris, which last having gained considerable advantage over the troops of the Convention, then under the command of General Menou, Bonaparte was sent for by the Convention, and placed in the command of the troops in lieu of Menou ;[1] and succeeding in defeating the revolted sections, and in restoring order, he was immediately made commandant of Paris, which situation, he said, gave him considerable consequence, and in which he remained until he was made commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. He said it was not until after the battle of Lodi that he entertained an idea of ever being sufficiently in consequence to authorise his some day or other interfering with the government of France; but then, finding all his plans to succeed so very far beyond

[1] Bonaparte was merely included among the generals placed under the command of Barras.—J. H. R.

his own expectations, he began to look forward (though without any decided plan) to such events as afterward took place, and he said the quantity of money which he sent from Italy to France with these views very considerably increased his popularity. After his campaign of Italy, and the consequent suspension of hostilities with Austria, he said the Directory became very jealous of his popularity, and were therefore anxious to get him into some scrape, to avoid which it required his utmost caution and *finesse*; and this induced him not only to refuse an appointment offered him to conduct the diplomatic discussions then going on with Austria, but also the appointment (which was soon afterward offered him) to command the army for the invasion of England.[1] But when the command of the Egyptian expedition was proposed to him he immediately saw the advantages it offered him for getting out of the way of a jealous, arbitrary Government (by its measures

[1] Incorrect. Bonaparte took diplomatic matters into his own hands at the time of the signature of the Preliminaries of Peace with Austria at Leoben (April 18, 1797), and kept them in his hands until the conclusion of the treaty at Campo Formio (October 17, 1797). He was appointed to command the "Army of England," but reported in February, 1798, that that expedition was impracticable. The Egyptian enterprise at that time was his dearest wish.—J. H. R.

running itself to ruin), and by placing himself at the head of an army for an expedition almost certain of success, leaving it open to him to return with increased popularity whenever he might judge the crisis favourable. Therefore, he said, the Directory being anxious to get him out of France, and he being equally anxious to get away from them, this Egyptian expedition did not fail to please both parties, and he warmly entered into it the moment it was proposed; but he declared the proposition of this expedition did not originate with himself.[1] Having thus left France, Bonaparte said he anxiously looked for the events which brought him back to France; and on his return there, he was soon well assured that there no longer existed in it a party strong enough to oppose him, and he immediately planned the revolution of the 18th Brumaire.

He said that although he might on that day have run some personal risk, owing to the confusion which was general, yet everything was so arranged that it could not possibly have failed, and that the government of France from that day became inevitably and irretrievably

[1] Magallon, Consul of France in Egypt, advocated the expedition in a report received in February, 1798. Bonaparte also pressed strongly for it.—J. H. R.

in his hands and of those of his adherents.[1] He said, therefore, that all the stories and reports which might have been circulated of any intentions of arresting him, and of opposing his intentions, were all nonsense, and without any foundation in truth; for his plans had been too long and too well laid to admit of being so counteracted. He said that after he became first consul, plots and conspiracies against his life were very frequent, but by vigilance and good fortune they had all been discovered and frustrated. He said that one which was the nearest proving fatal to him was that in which Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau were concerned—thirty-six of this party had been actually in Paris six weeks without the police knowing anything of it—and which was at last discovered by an emigrant apothecary,[2] who, being informed against, and

[1] The *coup d'état* of 19 Brumaire (November 10), 1799, would have failed but for the skill of Lucien Bonaparte, who refused to put to the Council the motion of outlawry against his brother.—J. H. R.

[2] This apothecary was Quérel, or Quérelle, who was quite possibly an agent of the police. He disclosed (we should now say "disclosed" rather than "discovered") the news on February 14, 1804. It is certain that Napoleon, through his unofficial police, that of Fouché, knew of the plot; for he wrote on November 1, 1803, to his chief controller of police, that he must not be in a hurry about making the arrests.—J. H. R.

secured after landing from an English man-of-war, and the police having entertained some suspicions in consequence of the numbers which had been reported to have landed clandestinely about this time, it was judged this apothecary would be a likely person to bring to confession, if properly managed. Therefore, being condemned to death, and every preparation made for his execution, his life was offered him if he would give any intelligence sufficiently important to merit such indulgence, when the apothecary immediately caught at the offer, and gave the names of the thirty-six persons before alluded to, every one of whom, with Pichegru and Georges, were, by the vigorous measures adopted, found and secured in Paris within a fortnight. Bonaparte said (from what he afterward learnt) that previous to this plot being discovered it would probably have proved fatal to him, had not Georges insisted upon being appointed a consul, which Moreau and Pichegru would not hear of, and therefore Georges and his party could not be brought to act.[1] He said also that it was to be at hand for the purpose of aiding in this conspiracy, and to

[1] This is incorrect. Moreau withdrew from all connection with Pichegru as soon as he knew that he was bound up with Cadoudal.—J. H. R.

take advantage of any confusion that might arise, that the Duke D'Enghien took up his residence in the neighbourhood of Strasburg, in which city Bonaparte said he had certain information of the duke's having been in disguise several times. On the admiral asking Bonaparte if the report of his having sent an order for the duke's reprieve, which unfortunately arrived too late, was true, he replied it certainly was not true; that the duke was condemned for having conspired against France, and he (Bonaparte) was determined from the first moment to let the law take its course respecting him, to endeavour if possible to check the frequent conspiracies.[1] On the admiral's mentioning that the Duke D'Enghien was taken from the territory of the Duke of Baden, Bonaparte replied that did not in his opinion alter the case of the Duke D'Enghien. He said the Duke of Baden might have reason to complain of the violation of his territory, but that was an affair to be settled between him and the Duke of

[1] This admission, and Napoleon's insertion of a similar statement in his will, do away with all the efforts made by his apologists to throw the blame on Talleyrand, &c. Napoleon, before he gave the final instructions which led to the death of the Duke, knew quite well that he had had no connection with the Cadoudal plot. See "Camb. Modern History," vol. ix. (Napoleon), pp. 30–31—J. H. R.

Baden, and not with the Duke D'Enghien, whom, when he had got him within the territory of France (no matter how), they had full right to try and punish for any act committed by him in France against the existing Government. Having walked very late this evening, we played a game of chess and retired. At noon our latitude was 9° 55′ S., longitude 8° 56′ E.

October 9–14.—Moderate weather, with a continuation of south-west winds; nothing worth mentioning occurred to-day. Our latitude and longitude at noon were 10° 23′ S. and 7° 21′ E.

Weather the same as heretofore; the *Redpole* in sight at a great distance. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were 10° 59′ S. and 5° 41′ E.

The wind southerly. Our conversation was confined to the approaching termination of our voyage. Our latitude and longitude at noon were 12° 2′ S. and 4° 11′ E.

We have at length got the south-east trade-wind, and are making rapid strides toward St. Helena. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 14° 8′ S. and 4° 29′ E.

We had a steady south-east trade, and cool, pleasant weather. Bonaparte for some days past has been less communicative than usual, and our

days have passed in one continued sameness. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were 15° 23′ S. and 4° 54′ E.

Pleasant weather. Numerous were the conjectures whether or not we should see the land. The admiral decided we should see it at six o'clock, and so correct was he in his calculations that the time we saw it did not differ a *minute*, at which Bonaparte and all the French party seemed much astonished. The *Zenobia* was despatched to apprise the governor of our approach, and we lay to for the night. Our latitude and longitude at noon were 16° 8′ S. and 5° 57′ E.

October 15.—We anchored about half-past ten, and found here the *Havannah*, *Icarus*, and *Ferret*, which had got the start of us. The governor came on board, and the admiral returned with him to determine on the spot for Bonaparte's future abode. We amused ourselves in surveying the stupendous barren cliffs of St. Helena, whose terrific appearance seemed to but ill accord with the feelings of our guests. In the evening the admiral returned, having taken a house in the town as a temporary residence for Bonaparte and his followers.

October 16.—The admiral went on shore early

The Island of St. Helen[illegible]

L'Isle de Ste. Helene[illegible]

for the purpose of visiting Longwood House, to see how far it would be able to accommodate our guests. He returned early to dinner, and made a favourable report of the situation of Longwood. Maréchal Bertrand went on shore in the afternoon to arrange the lodging, but Bonaparte, at his own particular request, delayed disembarking until it was dark, to avoid the gaze of the inhabitants, who were crowded on the wharf to see a person who had heretofore kept nations in a state of warfare and dread for nearly twenty years. We landed about seven o'clock, and all the French party were lodged at the boarding-house taken for them at the lower end of the town.[1]

The next morning[2] at six o'clock Bonaparte mounted on horseback, and, in company with the admiral, visited Longwood House (the residence of the lieutenant-governor, and belonging to the Company), which had been previously fixed on by the admiral and governor as the future residence of Bonaparte and his suite. Bonaparte seemed very well satisfied with the situation,

[1] We are informed that in the original manuscript the next entry is not dated, but was evidently written in by the same hand some months later, from notes taken at various times.

Napoleon landed at Jamestown, St. Helena, on October 17, 1815.—J. H. R.

[2] That is, on October 18.—J. H. R.

and expressed a desire to occupy it as soon as possible. This house, however, requiring not only repairing but considerable enlarging, which would occupy much time, and the general mentioning his dislike to return to the town, the admiral proposed his visiting the "Briars," a small cottage (the residence of Mr. Balcombe), which was near the Longwood Road, and about a mile and a quarter from the town.

This proposition was immediately acquiesced in by Bonaparte, and on reaching this cottage he instantly expressed a wish to be allowed to occupy a small detached building on an eminence close to the cottage (built by Mr. Balcombe as a dining-room), of about twenty-two feet by sixteen, with a very small ante-room, and two garrets overhead, until Longwood House might be ready, stating there was quite room enough for him. This request was immediately complied with, and the admiral returned to the town by himself, leaving Bonaparte in charge of Mr. Balcombe's family. Bonaparte's camp-bed was put up in this room without delay; Count Las Cases and his son occupied the two garrets over it. After a few days a marquee was attached to the front of this building and fitted up as a dining-room; and here Bonaparte passed the

NAPOLEON'S ABODE AT ST. HELENA,
AS PORTRAYED BY A CONTEMPORARY ARTIST.

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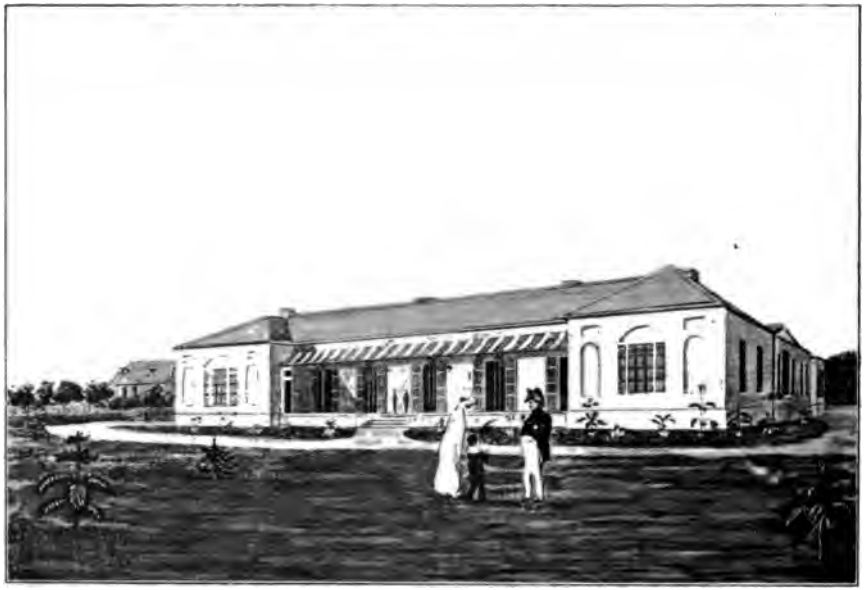
first two months of his detention, without going out of the grounds, except in one or two instances. He seldom came out of his room until the afternoon, when he amused himself by walking in the garden (a very productive and perfectly secluded spot, abounding with various fruits, such as mangoes, apples, guavas, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, grapes, figs, peaches, &c.), or reading in a small bower of vines, which was lined for him with canvas to keep out the rain, of which there was daily more or less. In the evening he generally invited himself into the cottage, and played cards with the family for two or three hours. Mr. Balcombe's family consists of himself (a truly good-natured and most hospitable, liberal man of plain manners), Mrs. Balcombe, two Miss Balcombes (women grown, although the one is but fifteen and the other between thirteen and fourteen), and two boys, the one about seven and the other five years old. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Balcombe understands French, but both the Miss Balcombes speak it tolerably well, and Bonaparte appeared much delighted in their society.[1] These young ladies

[1] For the Balcombes and their house, see Mrs. Abell (Betsy Balcombe), "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena" (London, 1844); also Las Cases, "Mémorial de Ste. Hélène," under date October 17 *et. seq.*, 1815.—J. H. R.

in a few days became perfectly familiar, and the general seemed highly pleased with their *naïveté*, particularly that of the younger (a pretty girl, and a most complete romp when out of sight of her father). He occasionally so completely laid aside his imperial dignity as to romp with these young ladies, who during such diversions as "Blindman's Bluff," &c., called him by the familiar appellation of "Boney"; indeed, the younger, who appeared his favourite, said anything and everything to him her lively imagination dictated, asking every possible question, and he answering without the slightest apparent reserve. About the middle of December, after very great exertions of the admiral, with the aid of the crew of the *Northumberland*, Longwood House was sufficiently repaired, augmented, and furnished for Bonaparte and all his followers, with the exception of Maréchal Bertrand, for whom a small cottage near Longwood has been hired, until some detached apartments are erected within the grounds of Longwood as a residence for him and Madame Bertrand. Longwood House, of which a plan is annexed, is nearly five miles from James Town. The first three miles of the road are up-hill and zigzag; the other part is level, round a very



THE NEW HOUSE AT LONGWOOD,
INTENDED FOR NAPOLEON.

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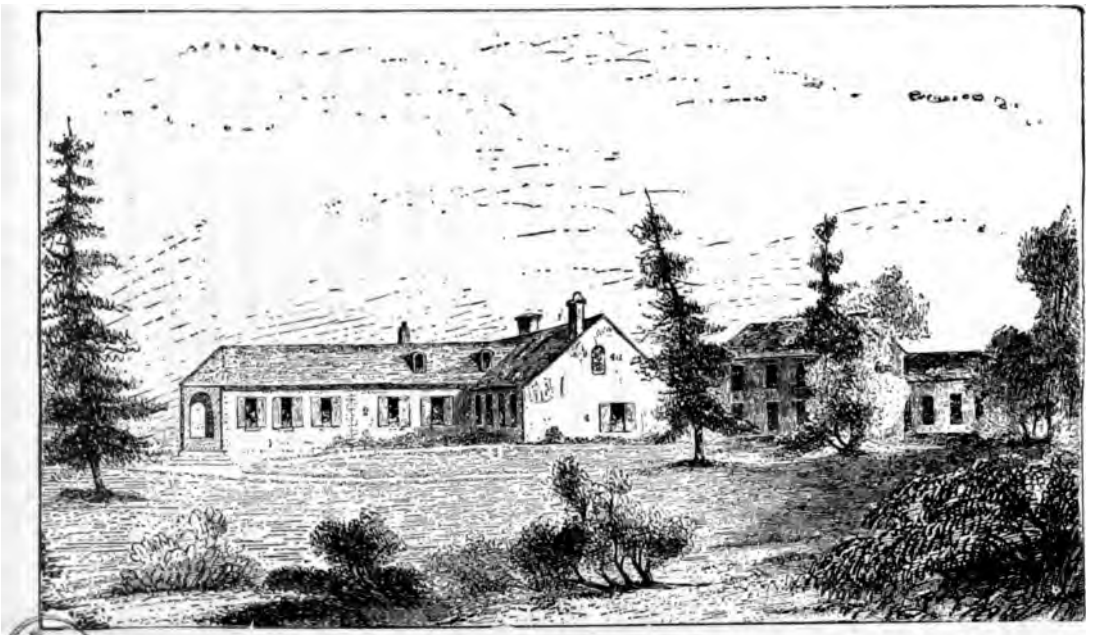
deep and dreary looking ravine, which, contrasted with the entrance of the grounds, adds much to their appearance, which is really that of an English gentleman's country-seat. It is built on the most level spot on the island, in a park of about four miles in circumference. The house is now made commodious and comfortable; the rooms are not large, but, including the servants' rooms, there are more than forty in number, as described in the accompanying plan, and tolerably well furnished. The air at Longwood is cooler than any other part of the island, the thermometer seldom rising above 65°. It is about 1,750 feet above the level of the sea, and is surrounded by a very extensive plain, on which the 53rd Regiment are encamped. The grounds of Longwood are thickly planted with an indigenous tree called gum-wood, which at a distance has a pleasing appearance, but when in the park the one continued sameness of a stunted tree with dark green foliage is tiresome to the eye.[1] From the house you have a commanding view to the eastward of the sea and the shipping, and to the northward the camp of the 53rd forms

[1] Surgeon Henry, "Events of a Military Life" (chap. xxviii.), gives a glowing account of the climate and shrubs, &c., of the upper part of St. Helena.—J. H. R.

a pleasing object in the foreground to any one except Bonaparte, who seems to loathe the sight of a British soldier, and at whose particular request great pains were taken to place the camp out of his sight. But this could not be done without giving up the very best situation for a camp. Part of the park is cultivated as a farm by the Company, and forms an agreeable variation. The grounds of Longwood are entirely private to Bonaparte (with the exception of the farmer and his labourers, who are confined to the cultivated part).

Sentries are placed around the park to prevent all intruders, and no one can enter without a pass from the governor, the admiral, or the commandant of the forces. Some distance without the park there is a second cordon of pickets and sentinels forming an *enceinte* of about twelve miles, within any part of which Bonaparte or any of his followers can amuse themselves by either walking or riding, unaccompanied by any one, but they cannot extend their excursions beyond this boundary without being accompanied by an English officer—if Bonaparte himself, by a captain, for which purpose, and to superintend the guard at Longwood Gate, and the sentries placed around the house after dark, a captain of



LONGWOOD HOUSE, ST. HELENA.

1. Billiard Room. 2. Drawing Room. 3. Bed Room. 4. Bath Room. 4a. Marchand, Valet.

From Forsyth's "History of the Captivity of Napoleon."

(By permission of Messrs. G. Bell & Sons.)

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the 53rd has constantly lived in a room attached to the house. A carriage, a phaeton, and twelve horses have been furnished for Bonaparte's use, and he frequently amuses himself both on horseback and in his carriage, but he has declared he will not go without the boundary, so long as he is restricted to be accompanied by an English officer, to do away which he has used every possible argument and endeavour with the admiral, but to no avail. Bonaparte, on first taking up his abode at Longwood, expressed a great dislike to see soldiers near him, and carried his weakness so far as to request that if it was necessary to keep constant watch over him, the sentries might not wear their uniforms; but in this request he, of course, did not succeed. However, to humour him, the admiral allowed the officer of the guard, who lived in the house, to wear plain clothes.

Bonaparte leads a secluded life, few or none ever going near him, although no person of respectability has been refused a pass when asked for, but so little is he now thought of, that his name is seldom or never mentioned except on the arrival of a ship; indeed, the inhabitants express so little curiosity that two-thirds of them have not yet seen him (although he has been at

St. Helena eight months), nor do they ever seem inclined to go a hundred yards out of their way for that purpose. Even Mrs. Wilkes, the wife of the late governor, although she was six months in the island after he arrived, went away without seeing him, whereas the curiosity of the passengers going home from India has almost exceeded credibility.

He spends most of the forenoon in the house, and gives out that he is occupied in writing his life ; he breakfasts at eleven, and dines at seven. At first he seemed determined to lead the life of a gentleman and encourage society, for which purpose he invited different people to dinner, and attempted to imitate English manners, but after the first fortnight he suddenly relinquished this system, and ever since he has confined himself to his abject followers, whom I may say he tyrannises over, and whose servility is more abject than an Englishman who has not witnessed it can possibly conceive.

The rough sketch here placed of his person [1] will give an idea of it. He is portrayed leaning against one of the guns on the quarter-deck of the *Northumberland* speaking earnestly to Maréchal Bertrand. His countenance has something

[1] This sketch does not accompany the manuscript.

green uniform coat trimmed with red, a pair of large gold epaulets, the facing of the coat cut away from the breast, and tapering to a point behind;[1] the collar buttoned close round the throat, so as not to allow even the neck handkerchief to be seen. On the left breast he wore a large silver star of the order of the Legion of Honour, and from the button-hole the order of the Iron Crown, and a Dutch order; under the coat a broad red ribbon similar to the order of the Bath; white kerseymere breeches, silk stockings, shoes and buckles.

He generally walks with one hand in his breeches-pocket and the other in his coat-pocket. He occasionally takes snuff in moderation from an oblong box of dark green stone, lined with gold, and set with four antique silver medals on the top, and a small gold one in front. These medals, Madame Bertrand told me, Bonaparte himself found at Rome;[2] the silver ones bear the heads of Agrippa, Sylla, Pompey the Great, and Julius Cæsar, the gold that of Timoleon. Since he has been on shore he has substituted

[1] This was his favourite uniform, that of a colonel of the *Chasseurs* of the Guard.—J. H. R.

[2] This is more than doubtful. Napoleon never was at Rome. See Madelin, "La Rome de Napoléon," p. 161.—J. H. R.

a plain coat, with the star, for the uniform one, and he wears military boots of a morning; in other respects his dress continues the same.

His character is difficult to be defined, but from what I have seen, learned, and heard, I think Miot, in his "Mémoires de l'Expedition en Egypte," gives a very accurate description of him when he says: [1]

"He understands enough of mankind to dazzle the weak, to dupe the vain, overawe the timid, and to make the wicked his instruments, but of all beyond this Bonaparte is grossly and totally ignorant."

Greatness of mind or character, in my opinion, he possesses not, very frequently acting the part of a spoilt child. Feeling I consider him devoid of. Every religion is alike to him, and did I believe there existed such a being as an atheist, I should say Bonaparte is that being. Of those about him he seems neither to care nor feel for the privations they undergo from their blind and infatuated attachment to him, which many of his actions prove, and which the following circumstance, which occurred during the passage out,

[1] It should be remembered that Miot was very hostile to Napoleon.—J. H. R.

will show.[1] Madame Bertrand had been confined to her cabin by serious illness for ten days or a fortnight. On her appearing in the cabin, we all congratulated her on her recovery. This was in the forenoon, and about two o'clock Bonaparte came into the cabin, and sat down to play at chess with General Montholon. At this time Madame Bertrand was below, but soon after made her appearance, seemingly to pay her *devoirs* to this once great man. Putting on one of her best smiles, she approached the table where he was playing, and where she stood by his side silent for some time, no doubt in anxious expectation of receiving the Emperor's congratulations, which would have amply repaid all sufferings she had undergone. But in this, disappointment alone was her portion, for he merely stared her steadfastly in the face, and then continued his game of chess without taking the slightest further notice. She, evidently piqued, quitted the table and came over to the other side of the cabin, where she sat by me on the sofa until dinner was announced, when the admiral,

[1] This estimate of Napoleon is not unlike that formed by Colonel Basil Jackson, after seeing a good deal of the Longwood household. See his "Notes and Reminiscences of a Staff Officer," pp. 176–8.—J. H. R.

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ONE OF MORE THAN TWENTY CARICATURES IN MR. BROADLEY'S COLLECTION, REFERRING TO THE SUPPOSED PLAGUE OF RATS AT ST. HELENA.

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as he usually did, handed her to her seat. Even sitting down at table he took not the slightest notice of her, but began eating his dinner. During the dinner, missing the bottle of claret which usually stood before him, and Madame Bertrand, ever watchful of his motions, having handed him one which was near her, he very condescendingly exclaimed, "Ah! comment se porte madame?" and then very deliberately continued his meal. This, and this alone, was all the notice the long and serious illness of his favourite drew forth.[1]

April 15, 1816.—Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe arrived in the *Phaeton*, and took the command as Governor of St. Helena, to whom Sir George Cockburn made over his charge of Napoleon Bonaparte and all his followers, and who immediately adopted every measure which had been taken by Sir George Cockburn for the safe custody of this personage, and which are such as to render his escape next to an impossibility. Sir H. Lowe brought out permission for such of Bonaparte's followers to return to Europe as might wish so to do, but

[1] Mme. Bertrand was not liked by Napoleon, owing to her spasmodic ways and her endeavour to dissuade Bertrand from going to St. Helena.—J. H. R.

after some little hesitation they all signed a paper declaring their determination to remain, Maréchal Bertrand inserting a saving clause for himself and Madame Bertrand, expressing their wish to remain only a twelvemonth.[1]

June 17–19.—Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm arrived in the *Newcastle* as Sir George Cockburn's successor, and all the necessary documents having been made over to him as naval commander-in-chief, on the afternoon of the 19th we quitted St. Helena, after a residence there of rather more than eight months, the latter two of which were spent in anxious expectation of our relief.[2] St. Helena, from its situation, composition, and picturesque appearance, is perhaps a place the most singular which navigation has presented to the curious observance of man. It is situated between the two tropics, in latitude 15° 53′ S. and longitude 5° 43′ W. The atmosphere is temperate, with a continued southerly breeze. The thermometer in the country seldom exceeds 75°, or is seldom below 60° Fahrenheit; in the valley it is generally from 70 to 80.

[1] For Sir H. Lowe, see "Napoleon's Captivity in Relation to Sir Hudson Lowe," by R. C. Seaton (London, 1904).—J. H. R.

[2] For Sir P. Malcolm, see "A Diary of St. Helena (1816, 1817)," by Lady Malcolm (London, 1899).—J. H. R.

During our eight months' residence we experienced very little variation, and had continued rains. The climate is by no means so healthy as it is generally described to be, the children being sickly, and the adults suffering from the liver, of which complaint many of our men died.[1]

Nothing can possibly be less prepossessing, nay, more horribly forbidding, than the first appearance of this isolated and apparently burnt-up barren rock, which promises neither refreshment nor pleasure. To this terrific and disgusting external appearance (causing a wonderful contrast) I attribute in a great measure the many flattering and flowery descriptions which have been published of the interior beauties of this island, none of which was realised in my ideas, and it is contrast alone which in my opinion makes the scenery agreeable, the whole of which (having visited every part of the island) is far too highly coloured in every publication I have read. Some of the scenes I admit to be picturesquely grand, and some spots to be highly

[1] The high land around Longwood is far more healthy than Jamestown; so Surgeon Henry found by comparing the health of the troops at the two stations. The health of the Boer prisoners of war while at Deadwood (near Longwood) was excellent.—J. H. R.

verdant, and to those who have spent the better part of their lives in India a sojourn here for a fortnight is certainly a relief. These may view the scenery with rapture and delight, but the residence of a month at St. Helena would be tediously long to any one who has been accustomed to live in Europe. This island is about twenty-eight miles in circumference. James Town (the only one in the island) is situated in a deep valley of about a mile in length, the houses are commodious, and have a clean appearance. From Ladder Hill, which is about nine hundred feet perpendicular, to the eastward the *coup d'œil* of the town and anchorage is not only unique, but to some terrific, as the immense overhanging rocks seem ready to escape from each other, and crush everything below. The town, and indeed most part of the island, is well supplied with good spring water, one of the principal sources of which is Diana's Peak, the highest spot on the island, and which is computed about two thousand six hundred feet above the level of the sea. The interior of the island abounds with vegetables of the best quality, and the poultry is superior in flavour to any I have ever met with. The inhabitants are friendly, obliging, and much inclined to hospitality, but,

owing to the generality of them marrying young, and having large families, they have not in their power to indulge therein. The ladies are lively, agreeable, and many of them pretty, and, although self-taught, are not devoid of accomplishments. They are extremely domesticated, and it requires a residence of some time to become intimately acquainted with the different families. The hospitality of Sir George Cockburn made him an universal favourite, and his departure caused a general regret, which was strongly testified on the crowded beach as we embarked.

June 23.—The *Bucephalus* accompanied us to Ascension, when we arrived on the morning of the 23rd, having seen it the preceding evening. This island was hitherto uninhabited, but since the arrival of Bonaparte at St. Helena, it has been taken possession of and garrisoned, to prevent ships harbouring there to assist the possible escape thereby of Bonaparte, for which it is well adapted, being situated directly to leeward of St. Helena. Water has been found in the interior, and near the spring some land has been cultivated with success.

June 24–*August* 3.—The *Bucephalus* sailed for England, for which place we also sailed the following morning. We made the Cape de Verde

Islands on July 6, on the 20th the Western Islands, and on the 3rd of August we arrived at Spithead, thus completing twelve months on a voyage which, from peculiarity of circumstances, was far more interesting than any ever likely again to occur, at least to

JOHN R. GLOVER.

August 3, 1816.—N.B.—As the foregoing narrative was kept for my own gratification, and that of my friends, and being particularly averse that any part of it should get into print, I most particularly request of those to whom I may lend it, that they will on no account copy any part of it, or allow any one so to do.

THE END.

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